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CHRISTOLOGY

OF

THE OLD TESTAMENT,

AND A

COMMENTARY ON THE MESSIANIC PREDICTIONS,

BY

E. W. HENGSTENBERG,

DR. AND PROF. OF THEOL. IN BERLIN.

SECOND EDITION GREATLY IMPROVED.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN

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THE PROPHET EZEKIEL.

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

EZEKIEL was a younger contemporary of Jeremiah. He was among the first that were carried away captive under Jehoiachin. The spot assigned him as a dwelling place was on the Chaboras, and there he made his first appearance as a prophet in the midst of the exiles, in the seventh year before the destruction of Jerusalem.[1] It was not merely in point of time that Ezekiel stood in this relation to Jeremiah. His prophecies are based upon those of Jeremiah; and it was probably this fact which afterwards gave rise to the legend, that Ezekiel was Jeremiah's amanuensis. With such thorough individuality as Ezekiel possessed, this dependence must have been entirely voluntary on his part. His purpose was evidently to show that his work rested upon the same foundation as that of the elder servant of God, and to point out the essential unity of the word of

[1] The fifth year after the captivity of Jehoiachin is also called the thirtieth in the superscription. This means undoubtedly the thirtieth year of the prophet's life. The period of history is also mentioned, and we find ourselves involved in hopeless difficulties, as the commentaries of *Hävernick* and *Hitzig* have recently shown, if we interpret it as a general statement of time. Moreover, it was of peculiar importance in the case of Ezekiel that emphasis should be laid upon the thirtieth year. According to the law the Levites entered upon the duties of their office in the thirtieth year of their age (Num. iv. 23, 30.) Now Ezekiel was of priestly descent, and his prophecies breath a priestly spirit. He shows himself to be the priest among the prophets, especially in the description of the new temple with which the book concludes. In his thirtieth year Ezekiel would legally have commenced his duties in connexion with the outward temple. From this he was now far removed; but at the same period of his life he was called to the service of the church, the antitype of the outward sanctuary. There was therefore a connexion between the year thirty in the case of Ezekiel and the same year in that of John the Baptist and of Christ.

God, whatever differences might exist among the human messengers, by whom it was declared.

Ezekiel's sphere of action was a very important one. On the whole he had a better field assigned him than Jeremiah. By the providence of God it was just the best portion of the nation, which had been carried into exile. If we search for the human causes of this, they are to be found most likely in the fact, that the ungodly, who despised the predictions of the prophets, were ready to make any sacrifice for the purpose of obtaining permission to remain in their own country; whereas those who feared God saw clearly, that the destruction of the city was not only inevitable, but was the indispensable condition of its restoration, and therefore willingly obeyed the first summons, and went cheerfully to death, as being the only gate of life. Moreover, the conquerors most likely discovered, that the theocratical principle was the mainspring of the nation's existence, and were therefore most anxious to carry into exile such as still maintained that principle, from a conviction that, if they were out of the way, the nation would inevitably fall to pieces. That this was the relation, in which the exiles stood to those who were left behind, is particularly evident from Jer. xxiv. The former are there described as the nursery ground, the hope of the kingdom of God. Still the distinction was only a relative one. God had to make Ezekiel's forehead like an adamant, harder than flint, that he might not fear them, nor be dismayed at their looks; for they were a rebellious house (chap. iii. 9.) Many of the ungodly had been carried away against their will, and even those who feared God dwelt among a people of unclean lips; and through the increase of iniquity their love had grown cold. The weak were surrounded by many temptations, which threatened to destroy the hopes of the kingdom. They had been transported all at once to the very heart of the heathen world, and the idolatrous spirit of the age pressed upon them with fearful force. The long predicted judgment on Judaea was still delayed. The kingdom of Zedekiah appeared to be firmly established. The Egyptian alliance still kept alive the hope of entire restoration. The seducers of the people in Jerusalem did not lose sight of the exiles, and even found them ready to assist them. Human hopes gained strength on every hand.

Soon, it was thought, would the way be opened for a return to the native land; and the thought was quickly followed by the determination to co-operate for that end. But if such a state of mind should generally prevail, the design of God, who had sent them into the land of the Chaldæans for their good, would be frustrated. As long as they continued to look about for human methods of deliverance, they would never be able to tread with earnestness the path of God, which led first through repentance. To return to the Lord was the task assigned them. When this was done the return to their own country would as certainly follow, as that country was the Lord's own land.—But even those who had kept aloof from such gross transgressions were wavering, and needed to be strengthened. There was so much that seemed to testify that God had quite forgotten them; they were entirely cut off from the sanctuary, and dwelt in a foreign country; their brethren, who were in possession of the holy land and temple, treated them with supercilious contempt, and looked upon possession as a positive proof of right. All this had brought them very nearly to despair. The Lord, however, now began to fulfil the good word which he had spoken to the exiles through Jeremiah (chap. xxiv.); He raised up in their midst Ezekiel, a man who lifted up his voice like a trumpet and declared to Israel its sins,—whose word fell like a hammer upon all the pleasant dreams and projects in which it had indulged, and crushed them to powder,—whose entire appearance furnished a powerful proof that the Lord was still among his people,—who was himself a temple of the Lord, before whom the so-called temple at Jerusalem, which was still left standing for a little while, sunk into its own nonentity,—a spiritual Samson, who grasped with his powerful arms the pillars of the temple of idolatry and dashed them to the ground,—a strong, gigantic nature, fitted for that very reason to contend successfully against the Babylonian spirit of the age, which revelled in such things as were strong, gigantic, and grotesque,—standing alone, yet equal to a hundred pupils from the schools of the prophets. The extent of his influence may be gathered from the fact, that the elders of the people were accustomed to assemble in his house to hear the word of the Lord, as it came through him,—a proof of a formal and public recognition of his spiritual rank in the

colony, and a refutation of the assertion of such men as *Hitzig* and *Ewald*, who would make the prophet a mere writer, who passed "a quiet, twilight life, in reading and meditating upon the law."

The collection of prophecies is divisible into two parts: those before the destruction, (chap. i.—xxxii.), and those after the destruction, (chap. xxxiii.—xlviii). The main design of the former was to overthrow the foolish illusions of the people, and to summon them to repentance as the only road to salvation; that of the latter, on the other hand, was to ward off despair, by depicting this salvation before the eyes of the people, in such a manner as was most adapted to strike the senses, that they might thus be furnished with a powerful antidote to the visible circumstances, which were inducing despair.

The threats of Ezekiel, with reference to the immediate future, contain certain elements of a peculiarly special character; and their fulfilment, under the very eyes of the people. constituted a pledge of the subsequent fulfilment of promises, relating to a period more remote. We may mention, for example, the prediction concerning the fate of Zedekiah in chap. xii. 12 sqq., that respecting the destruction of the city in chap. xxiv., and the announcement of the defeat of the Egyptians and Tyrians by Nebuchadnezzar.

The individual promises, which are scattered throughout the book, may be combined together so as to form the following picture. As the judicial work of the Lord would not be brought to an end, till the last remnant of Judah had been carried into captivity, so would his saving work not cease when a portion only of the covenant nation had been brought back to the land of promise. Not Judah alone but Israel also would be restored; a prediction which was actually fulfilled, as we learn from Acts xxvi. 7, Luke ii. 36, and Rev. vii. 4 sqq. During the short period of their banishment the Lord would still keep his hand stretched out, to guard his rejected people (chap. xi. 16). Their deliverance from exile would be followed by still greater mercy in the appearance of the Messiah. From the family of David, which had been reduced and entirely bereft of its royal supremacy, there would come forth, through the miraculous interposition of the Lord, an exalted king, in whose sovereignty

and protection the nations of the earth would put their trust (chap. xvii. 22—24). The Lord himself would become the shepherd of his deserted flock, and feed it through his servant David (chap. xxxiv. 23—31, xxxvii. 24). The Messiah would combine the office of high priest with that of a king, and in the exercise of the latter would exalt the *righteousness*, which former rulers had trodden under feet (chap. xxi. 31—32). The people were to receive the invaluable blessing of the forgiveness of sins (chap. xxxvi. 25, xxxvii. 23). The Lord would give them a new spirit, would take away their stony heart and give them a heart of flesh (chap. xi. 19). By his breath of life he would rouse them from spiritual death (chap. xxxvii). The kingdom of God would shine forth with a glory before unknown; as in the new temple described in chap. xl.—xlviii. A stream of salvation issuing from this temple would renovate the world, which was dead in sin and wretchedness (chap. xlvii. 1—12). The Gentiles would be admitted to an equal participation in the fellowship of the kingdom of God (chap. xlvii. 22—23; compare Rev. vii. 4 sqq.). But it would be from Jerusalem, that salvation would go forth, and into fellowship with it, that the Gentiles would enter (chap. xvi. 53 sqq.). So great would be the fulness of salvation, that it would avail even for the deepest depravity, and Sodom might find in it the means of restoration *(ibid.)*. The kingdom of God would be universally victorious over its enemies: this is shown in the prophecy respecting Gog the king of Magog (chaps. xxxviii. xxxix.),—a prophecy, which is comprehensive in its character, Gog representing all future enemies of the kingdom of God; compare the Commentary on Rev. xx. 8.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XI. 14—21.

This section forms part of a still larger division extending from chap. viii. to xi. In the sixth year after the captivity of Jehoiachin, which was also the sixth year before the destruction of Jerusalem, the elders of the colony were gathered round the prophet waiting for the Lord to send them a message through

him. The reason of this desire on their part, and the question to which they wished for an answer, may be gathered from the prophecy itself, especially from chap. xi. The fact that the righteousness of God had not been displayed, so quickly as they anticipated, in the destruction of Jerusalem, threw them into a state of perplexity as to their own treatment; and this was increased by the manner in which they were ridiculed by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who prided themselves upon their possession of the temple. The prophet is carried in spirit to Jerusalem. He has first a vision of the extent and heinousness of the people's sins. They are represented as brought into a focus within and in front of the temple (see Amos ix. 1),[1] and as centring in the rulers of the nation, who are introduced *in corpore* —namely, seventy of the elders (an ideal representation of the civil authorities founded upon the seventy elders chosen in the desert), and twenty-five princes, the leaders of the twenty-four classes of priests with the high priest at their head,—all serving strange gods and presenting a most striking contrast to the rulers of the captives, who were seeking the Lord in his servant. The difference between the idea and the reality is seen in the contrast, which existed between the name and the actions of Jaazaniah, one of the seventy, and probably the lead-

[1] That this representation bears throughout an ideal character, and that the whole sin of the nation is concentrated in the temple as its spiritual dwelling place, is evident, from the fact that the civil and ecclesiastical rulers of the nation are given up *in corpore* to idolatry (a state of things for which no historical parallel can be found, and which is extremely improbable)—from ver. 8, where Ezekiel is described as having to break a hole in the wall, before he can get into the room, in which the seventy elders carry on their idolatrous rites (a description evidently intended to denote the secrecy with which they were performed; for if it were interpreted literally, the question would arise, how did the elders themselves get in?)—from the expression "in the dark" (ver. 12), that is not in a public place or public assembly,—from the words "every one in his chamber,"—and lastly, from the phrase "the abominations which they commit *here*" (ver. 17), where the abominations are described ideally as committed in the temple, although, strictly speaking, they were committed in the land. The *seer* beholds the idolatry of Judah brought together, as it were, into a single focus. Its universality is represented by the fact that men and women, elders and priests, are addicted to it. The various forms, under which the world's religion had forced its way into the midst of the people of God, is shown in the fact that Babylonian, Egyptian, and Medo-Persian idolatry are found there side by side. The influence of the Babylonian religion, which was represented by the statue of Baal, arose from the fact that Babylon was the threatening empire, whose deities it was desirable to propitiate; that of the Egyptian from the fact that Egypt was the natural ally of Judah.

ing man among them. The man whose name is "God perceives" says to his companions (ver. 12): "Jehovah sees us not, Jehovah has forsaken the land."—The description of the sin is followed by that of the punishment, the certainty and extent of the latter being determined by the former. The judgment falls first of all upon individuals. The prophet sees how the avenging angels, with *the* angel of the Lord at their head, are sent forth from Jehovah, who is enthroned above the Ark of the Covenant,—a sign that the judgment is a theocratical one,—and how, having commenced their work with the elders, in the most unsparing manner they bring destruction upon all the rest. The dress of the angel of the Lord shows him to be the antitype of the earthly high-priest, the mediator between God and the people. (On the expression clothed in linens, לבוש בדים consult Lev. xvi. 4, 23; the former verse especially serves to explain the plural בדים, as all the different articles of clothing worn by the high-priest are there described as being made of linen). The task of marking the righteous in their foreheads and preserving them safe in the midst of the destruction is assigned to him alone; at the same time he is also the leader of the six avenging angels. In chap. ix. the judgment on men is brought to a close. In chap. x. red hot coals are scattered over Jerusalem, and the city is burned to the ground. With chap. xi. the scene completely changes. The twenty-five "princes of the people" in ver. 1 are different from the twenty-five representatives of the priesthood in chap. viii. 11. Like the seventy in chap. viii. they are ideal representatives of the civil magistrates of the people, two for each tribe and a president. The axe is laid at the root of the rulers of the nation, and yet the prophet still hears them talking presumptuously. "It is not near, to build houses,[1] they say, it is the cauldron and we are the flesh" (chap. xi. 3). Thus they ridicule the words of the prophets, who had told them

[1] These words may be rendered interrogatively, "is it not near to build houses?" (compare Is. ix. 10, where the infatuated inhabitants of Samaria say: "the bricks have fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones"), and this rendering is favoured by the introduction of the name Benaiah. The thoughts of the men are incorporated in their own names and those of their fathers. It is evident from v. 7 that the words, "it is the cauldron and we are the flesh" can only mean, that they expect to keep possession of the city.

that the only way to the building of the city lay through its destruction. What is once destroyed, they reply, is not so easily rebuilt; instead of being taken in by any such mad hopes as these, we will keep what we have; no one, whether man or God, shall drive us away from Jerusalem. The city and we are inseparable. The prophet receives instructions to administer verbal chastisements to this presumption, and his words are fulfilled (in the vision of course, the ideal reality), even before his address is concluded. The judgment of God commences; and Platjah the son of Benajah is the first to fall under the stroke of the Lord. As in the case of the sin, so now in that of the punishment, the prophet makes the names descriptive of the facts. "God perceives" says: God does not perceive. We have here a contrast between the idea and the reality so far as conduct is concerned. And in the other case, where "God saves," the Son of "God builds," falls and perishes hopelessly, we have, as a necessary consequence, a similar contrast in the results. The prophet observes this contrast; and sees that Platjah, the son of Benajah, is destroyed not merely as an individual, but as a type of the whole nation. He is seized with compassion at the sight, and throws himself upon his face exclaiming, "Ah, Lord God, will thou make a full end of the remnant of Israel (chap. xi. 13). Shall the name of Platjah be henceforth a lie?"

Our section immediately follows. The Lord replies that he will not receive the presumptuous sinners who play the master in Jerusalem. Though of Israel they are not Israel, and the souls which have long ago been cut off from Israel, must now be outwardly cut off as well. Those to whom his intercession, his mediatorial office applies, are his brothers the captives; for they alone are children of God. They are the true Israel, though the pseudo-Israel in Jerusalem look down upon them with proud contempt. The Lord will accept them with faithful love. Even during their brief sojourn in the land of the heathen he will be their sanctuary, and give them the true possession of what the others, who hold the shell without the kernel, only fancy that they possess. He will then lead them back to their native land, bestow upon them the gifts of his spirit, and make them his people in the fullest sense of the word. But woe to the hypocritical and rebellious even among them!

The prophet now sees the glory of the Lord entirely depart from Jerusalem; for the Lord has finished the only work, which he still had to perform there as the covenant God, the work of judgment. The vision is at an end, and the prophet relates the purport of it to the leading men of the colony.

Ver. 14. "*And the word of the Lord came to me and said:* Ver. 15. *Thou Son of Man, thy brethren, thy brethren are the men of this ransom, and the whole house of Israel, the whole, they to whom the inhabitants of Jerusalem say: far be ye from the Lord! to us the land is given for a possession.*"

The repetition of "thy brethren" brings the notion of brotherhood into peculiar prominence, and lays emphasis upon the contrast thus presented to those, who have so decidedly renounced the relationship, viz., the pseudo-brethren, in whom the prophet still cherishes an interest, as if they were his actual brothers, the brethren according to the flesh alone, who have not a common father and God with him, and can no more unite with him in calling even Abraham father in the true sense, than Ishmael and the sons of Keturah could be called the seed of Abraham. There is a reference to the Mosaic law of redemption, which was only binding upon actual brothers, or the closest relations. The brother was the brother's supporter, deliverer, and avenger; the foreigner had no *Göel.* (See, for example, Lev. xxv. 25: "if thy brother becomes poor and sells any of his possession, his Goel comes, who is nearly related to him and redeems (גָּאַל) what his brother has sold)." In ver. 48 again, where the reference is to an Israelite, who has become poor, and has been sold to a foreigner among the Israelites, we find, "after he is sold, redemption (גְּאֻלָּה) is to be brought to him; one of his brothers is to redeem him *(cf. Michaelis* i. § 15.) The prophet, by interfering on behalf of those who were not his true brethren, had done something as much out of place, as if an Israelite had taken upon himself to be the Goel of a foreigner. The reference is so unmistakeable, that the word *ge-ullah* must necessarily be understood in the limited sense, even if any other passages could be found in which it was used with the more general signification of "kindred," which most commentators have given to it here.

But this is by no means the case, and even Goel is never applied to a relation as such, but only so far as he is a Goel. Thus, for example, we find in 1 Kings xvi. 11, "and he smote all the house of Baasha—and his Goalim," which *Michaelis* explains thus: "the avengers, that they might not avenge the slaughter of their relations."—In Num. v. 8 (where reference is made to the case of a person who has injured another, but is unable to render him personal compensation), we find the expression, "If the man has no Goel, to whom to give the compensation." The Goel had not only obligations, but rights, as his brother's *vindex* he had the right *haereditatem ejus sibi vindicandi.* The suffix is used in connexion with the compound notion, thy redemption-men—equivalent to the men, whose redemption is both thy duty and thy right.—The Lord assures Ezekiel that the brethren alone are the whole house of Israel, in opposition to ver. 13, where the prophet had just spoken of the inhabitants of Jerusalem as Israel (cf. chap. ix. 8.) כָּלָּה (the whole) serves the same purpose as the repetition of "thy brethren." It shows that the previous *col* (all) was employed quite seriously, and that the word is to be taken in its strictest sense. On רחקו, be far, *Calvin* remarks: "it ought not properly to be rendered as an imperative, but the words should be understood thus: as they depart to a distance from the sanctuary, the land will remain as our inheritance." But the sense is weakened by this explanation. The imperative must be rendered with strict literality. The hypocrites look upon departure from the country of the Lord, as a positive declaration of departure from the Lord himself, and on the other hand consider their own residence in the land, as a practical demonstration that they are near to Him. From this point of view it is that they call out to their brethren, "away with you from the Lord, to us the land is given for a possession." They are excited with a kind of holy jealousy at the thought, that such unholy men might possibly lay claim to have a portion and inheritance in the Lord, and consequently in his country also. But in the position, which they thus assume towards their brethren, that is, towards the house of Israel, they bear their own testimony, that they are not brethren in the true sense of the word, and do not belong to the house of Israel.

Ver. 16. "*Therefore say: thus saith the Lord Jehovah: I*

have indeed removed them to a distance among the heathen and scattered them in the lands, but I will be to them for a short time a sanctuary in the countries whither they have come."

The word "therefore" refers to the contemptuous language of the inhabitants of Jerusalem. The "therefore" in ver. 17 is co-ordinate with it. In the present case the antithesis has reference to their assertion, as to the distance of the others from the Lord himself; in ver. 17, to their declaration that they were excluded from the land of the Lord. The very opposite to the former is actually the case now, and the opposite to the latter will be witnessed very soon. כִּי, which must necessarily be an explanatory particle, supposes a clause to be introduced to this effect: "they are right in a certain sense, they do not speak entirely without a reason, *for* I have certainly, &c." In substance it is equivalent to our word "indeed," (I have indeed, &c.) But whilst the fact is admitted, the conclusion drawn from it is denied. They say: "therefore the Lord is far from them." The Lord says: "therefore I am, or become, unto them a sanctuary." The outward removal, so far as everything essential is concerned, is really the means of approximation. They have indeed lost the temple of the Lord, but the Lord himself has become their temple. By these words the prophet puts an end to the triumph of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, who imagine that the possession of the temple is equivalent to the possession of God, and alleviates the pain of the captives, who fancy that the loss of the temple involves the loss of God. What made the temple a sanctuary was the presence of God. Wherever this may be, there is the sanctuary; where it is not, there can be no temple but only a heap of wood and stones. This announcement is afterwards completed, by the prophet seeing the glory of the Lord depart from the temple at Jerusalem. We have here the germ, which we find afterwards expanded into a tree, with all its branches, twigs, leaves and flowers, in the description of the kingdom of God in its new form and glorious manifestation, contained in chap. xl.—xlviii. In Isaiah viii. 14, the Lord is referred to in the same terms, as the sanctuary of Israel. And according to Rev. xxi. 22, in the New Jerusalem the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb are the temple of it. "If the union of God with his people formed the essence of the

sanctuary, the coming of Christ must have borne the same relation to the sanctuary as the body to the shadow." The captivity, during which, even under the Old Testament, the union was maintained independently of its outward representation in the temple, prepared the way for the coming of Christ, by which the temple was permanently set aside. מעט is to be taken as a particle of time, *paulisper*, for a little while. If the Lord was really the sanctuary of the people in their captivity, the proof of this would necessarily appear in the fact, that they were soon brought back from their exile. Canaan was still the land of the covenant; and the presence of the Lord among his people at a distance from that land could only be a temporary thing. It was necessary, therefore, to add "for a little while," if what had been declared to be even then the case, was to be relied upon as true. The expression, "in the countries whither they have come," points to the fact that the day will come when the Lord will again be the sanctuary of the people on their native soil, in the land of promise; and therefore prepares the way for the contents of ver. 17 sqq. But in what way did the Lord prove himself to be the sanctuary of the people in their captivity? First of all by sending the prophet himself. By giving them a preacher of repentance and salvation, and especially one so richly endowed, he furnished them at once with a token, that his favour had not been withdrawn from the nation. The prophet was in an inferior sense what the Saviour was in the highest of all senses, a temple of God. For that which made the temple itself into a temple, the presence of God, dwelt in him. Again he proved this in many other and divers ways; for example, by the outward protection which he afforded them,—by the alleviation of their sufferings (they did not lose their national independence altogether, but retained their elders even in their captivity),—by inward consolations,—by the spirit of grace and supplication, which he poured out upon those who could receive it, and which changed the stony heart into a heart of flesh,—and by the preparations, which he began to make even then, for their subsequent return. During the whole period of the captivity his providence was engaged in bringing about the requisite circumstances; every event that transpired, such as the elevation of Daniel, the downfall of the Babylonian power and the rise of that of Persia.

pointed to this end. How different was the Babylonian exile from that of the present day! In the latter there are no signs of the presence of God. The nation can do nothing but celebrate memorial festivals and dream of the future. Between the remote past and the remote future there lies an enormous barren waste, a whole Sahara. In the former the thoughtful observer may discern traces on every hand of the loving care of God, even in their deepest depression, and find pledges innumerable of their continued election and future glory.

Ver. 17. "*Therefore say: thus saith the Lord Jehovah, and I gather you from the nations, and assemble you out of the countries, whither ye have been scattered, and I give you the land of Israel.*"

The Lord Jehovah: a proof that the promise is made by the Almighty and True. The words "*and* I will gather you" are intended to show, that this blessing is a continuation and consequence of the former one. That the promise of restoration was not entirely accomplished under Zerubbabel,—since the Canaan into which the people entered at that time was not the country of the Lord in the full sense of the word,—in other words, that the promise contains a Messianic element, is a fact that hardly needs to be mentioned after our previous discussions. If the prophet apparently promises return to none, but those who were then in captivity, and threatens those, who were still in Judæa, with destruction, we naturally suppose the contrast to be drawn between the two distinct bodies of men, and not to refer to every individual. Otherwise, when we find the exiles described in ver. 15 as the whole of Israel, we should be forced to the conclusion that Jeremiah was not "an Israelite indeed." The sense of the passage must be completed from ver. 9, where it is stated that even in Jerusalem there were some, who were the objects of the protecting care of the Lord, although they could not ward off the destruction of the polluted city.

Ver. 18. "*And they come thither, and take away all the detestable things thereof, and all the abominations thereof from thence.*"

Venema says: "They began immediately after their return, but did not finish for a long time afterwards, namely, in the time of the Maccabees, when they destroyed idolatry on every

hand throughout the whole land, and propagated the true religion even among the Samaritans and Idumeans." But the *finishing* was of a peculiar kind. The external removal of the things, by which the land of the Lord had been defiled, was only thought of by the prophet, so far as it was the result of the unconditional surrender of the heart to the Lord. This is evident from the close connexion between the conduct of the people and the gift of the Lord, mentioned in the following verse, from which that conduct sprang. That Satan should drive out Satan, or a refined system of idolatry (even Jehovah can become an idol) make war upon one of a grosser kind, is a matter of no religious importance, and therefore does not come within the range of the prophecy, any more than a change of fashion in articles of dress. It is also evident, therefore, that the outward removal of idols in the period immediately following the restoration and in the time of the Maccabees, is included in the prophecy, only so far as God himself was the *principium movens* on those occasions. But this can only be regarded as a very small beginning. The prophecy, in all that is essential, is Messianic. How little ground there is, for applying the term "finished" to the periods referred to, may be seen at once from the outward condition of the people between the restoration and the coming of Christ. Their conduct may be gathered from their condition. If the idols had all been banished from the country along with the idolatrous images, the people would have had some ground for charging God with unfaithfulness, in not performing his promises.

Ver. 19. "*And I give them a heart and a new spirit into their inward parts, and I take away the heart of stone out of their flesh and give them a heart of flesh.*"

The promise of the prophet is founded entirely upon Deut. xxx. 1 sqq. This is a pure renovation. The circumstances foreseen by Moses have now arrived. The people of the Lord are in exile, and therefore the words of consolation, which were also spoken by his servant, recover their force. Compare especially vers. 5, 6: "and the Lord thy God bringeth thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou possessest it, and he doeth thee good, and multiplieth thee above thy fathers. And the Lord thy God circumciseth thy heart, and the heart of thy seed, that thou love the Lord thy God with all the heart and with

all the soul." The circumcision of the heart, and the removal of all its impurities—of which outward circumcision was both the type and pledge—are here represented as the substitution of a heart of flesh for one of stone. The words, "I will give you *a* heart, show that the people will seek the Lord *with one accord*, in direct contrast to the present state of affairs, in which only a few scattered individuals have turned to the Lord. The whole nation approaches the Lord like *one* man. There is a parallel passage in Jer. xxxii. 39: "And I give them *one* heart and *one* way to fear me continually." Zephaniah also says (iii. 9) "they serve the Lord with *one* shoulder." And in Acts iv. 32 we find *τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τῶν πιστευσάντων ἦν ἡ καρδία καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μία.* The opinion expressed by several commentators, and among the last by *Schmieder*, that the oneness of the heart represents its uprightness and undivided state, cannot be sustained; on the contrary the standing expression for this is לֵב שָׁלֵם. The opposite to the *one* heart is described in Is. liii. 6: "we turned every one to his own way." In the natural state there are as many different dispositions as hearts; God makes all hearts and dispositions one. There can only be "one heart," where there is a "new spirit." The old spirit always produces distraction. The heart of flesh in contradistinction to the heart of stone (the expressions are peculiar to Ezekiel) denotes a tender heart susceptible of impression from the mercy of God. The fact, that the heart of man is only rendered so by the mercy of God, is a proof of its natural condition. So far as divine things are concerned, it is by nature as hard and unimpressible as a stone; the word of God and the outward dealings of his providence pass over it and leave no trace behind. The latter, indeed, may crush it, but not break it; not only do the fragments continue hard, but the hardness even increases. The spirit of God alone can produce a soft and broken heart. For a parallel in words see chap. xxxvi. 26; for one in sense see Jer. xxxi. 33 (compare the remarks on this passage).

Ver. 20. "*That they may walk in my statutes, and keep mine ordinances, and do them; and they become my people and I become their God.*"

This passage is founded upon Lev. xxvi. 3: "if ye walk in my statutes, and keep my commandments and do them (ver. 4),

I will give you rain in due season, &c.—(and after a long list of blessings the whole is summed up in ver. 12), I will be your God and ye shall be my people;" see Jer. xxxi. 33. It is through the operation of God alone, that the covenant nation becomes a covenant nation in its conduct, that the name of God is sanctified in it, and his will accomplished therein; and where this has once taken place, where the vocation of the covenant-people has been fulfilled in this respect, the rest necessarily follows: the nation becomes his nation in its condition, God is sanctified in it and becomes its portion with the whole fulness of his blessings.

Ver. 21. "*But as for those, whose heart walketh after the heart of their detestable things and their abominations, I will recompense their way upon their own heads, saith the Lord Jehovah.*"

In conclusion, those who through their own fault do not receive the prerequisite of mercy, the new heart, and therefore do not walk in the commandments of God, are expressly excluded from the mercy itself. Even in the people of the new covenant there is still a corrupt *substratum;* even among them a new object presents itself for the exercise of the justice of God. "Walking according to the heart of the idols" is opposed to walking according to the heart of God. Whether the idols have any outward existence, or not, does not affect the question. It is enough that their essential characteristic, sin, is really there. The idols are merely the personification, or objective expression of sin.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XVI. 53—63

Jerusalem has acted even worse than Samaria and Sodom. Called to be the ruling power over the heathen world, she has fallen into heathenism herself, and thus has shown base ingratitude towards the Lord, who had compassion on her misery in the time of her youth and so richly adorned her with his gifts. As she has inwardly placed herself on a level with Sodom and

Samaria, she is also to become their companion in misery, ver. 1—52.

But this is not the end of the ways of God. Jerusalem is not left in misery, because of the covenant made with her in the time of her youth; and Samaria and Sodom are not left in misery, because they are even less guilty than Jerusalem, and may therefore share with her in the saving mercy of God, which must work all in all. Salvation goes forth from Jerusalem, and Samaria and Sodom are received into its fellowship. All boasting ceases. There remain to Judah only shame and confusion, because, notwithstanding the depth of its fall, the Lord still raises it to the height of its destination.

We have here a picture of the world's history, to which a New Testament parallel may be found in Rom. xi. 29 sqq. In this passage as in the former the fundamental thought is: *συνέκλεισε ὁ θεὸς τοὺς πάντας εἰς ἀπείθειαν ἵνα τοὺς πάντας ἐλεήσῃ.* (Angl. God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all) Rom. xi. 32.

Ver. 53. "*And I return to their captivity, to the captivity of Sodom and her daughters, and to the captivity of Samaria and her daughters, and to the captivity of thy captivity in the midst of them.*"

That שב שבות always means to return to captivity,[1] and that the term captivity in this particular phrase is a figurative expression, denoting misery, I have already proved both in my commentary on Ps. xiv. 7 and in my Beiträge, vol. ii. p. 104 sqq. Captivity or imprisonment, in the strict sense of the word, is not applicable here, since the inhabitants of Sodom were not carried away captive, but exterminated. We have here a sacred parody, so to

[1] We might appeal in favour of the transitive meaning of שׁוּב in Kal (*reducere, restituere*) to the Samaritan name of the Messiah, Hashab or Hathab, if *Gesenius* were right in rendering this name *conversor* (carm. Samarit p. 75). But *de Sacy* (in his *notices et extraits*, vol. xii. p. 29 and 209) has shown that the name more probably denotes the returning one; and *Juynboll* (chron. Samarit. p. 52) supposes that the Messiah was called by this name, because he was regarded as the returning Moses, an opinion which is favoured by the fact, that the Samaritans, who only recognised the authority of the Pentateuch, based their expectation of a Messiah upon Deut. xviii. 18, where the Lord says to Moses: "A prophet will I raise up unto them *like unto thee;*" cf. Bargès les Samaritains de Naplouse Par. 55 p. 90. *Shiloh* they did *not* regard as a name of the Messiah, but applied it to Solomon, who was hated by them. (Part 1. p. 96. *Barges* p. 91).

speak, on the original passage in Deut. xxx. 3 (cf. Zeph. ii. 7), which speaks of the return of the Lord to the captivity of Israel alone. In the present case the most notorious sinners in the heathen world are placed on a par with Israel. The *daughters of Sodom* are the cities of minor importance, which were punished along with her. Many commentators have been greatly perplexed by this announcement of the return of the Lord to the captivity of Sodom, "because," as the Berleburger Bible correctly observes, "the rest of their maxims prevented them from giving anything but a forced interpretation to the passage." It also says: "if we admit, what some affirm, that there is a peculiar restoration even after death, the whole becomes easy, and may be interpreted with strict literality, as meaning that the inhabitants of Sodom, by virtue of this visitation, will eventually find mercy;" but if we adopt this as correct, we must substitute for restoration, which is unscriptural, the continuation of the institutions of salvation even after death in the case of those who have not enjoyed the means of grace in the entire fulness upon earth. We cannot for a moment think of the physical restoration of the soil, on which these cities formerly stood. For, apart from other difficulties, this would not be a genuine return of the Lord to the captivity of Sodom, seeing that the substance of Sodom is to be found in its *inhabitants*, who have perished and left no trace behind, and who cannot obtain mercy even in their descendants. The mercy of the Lord, which is celebrated here, could only be manifested by the extension of grace *to the same daring sinners, who formerly lived in Sodom*, either personally, or in their descendants. We are just as little able to subscribe to the opinion expressed by *Origen* and *Jerome* among the ancients, and last of all, by *Hävernick* among the modern expositors, that Sodom is used here in a typical sense to represent heathenism in general. Undoubtedly, if even Sodom finds mercy, it follows that the same mercy will be extended to the whole heathen world. From the part we may confidently draw conclusions as to the whole, and the correctness of this conclusion is substantiated by chap. xlvii., where the waters of the Dead Sea of the world are represented as being healed by the stream from the sanctuary. At the same time the direct and primary reference can only be to Sodom itself. We are sustained in this

assertion by the relation in which it stands to Samaria and Jerusalem, and still more decidedly by the special reference to Sodom itself, to its sins and destruction, in ver. 48—50. If Sodom is interpreted as meaning the world, the allusion to its captivity becomes unintelligible, for nothing has hitherto been said about the misery of the *world*. The attempt, which several commentators have made, to show that the Ammonites and Moabites are intended, is also a mere loophole to escape from the difficulty. For there was no internal connexion whatever between these nations and Sodom and Gomorrha. Lot, their forefather, sojourned in Sodom merely as a foreigner (Gen. xix. 9, xiii. 12.) In the *captivity* of Sodom and its daughters the Moabites had no share. If it be admitted, that the passage can only relate to the forgiveness of the inhabitants of Sodom and the other cities in the valley of the Jordan in a future state, it is evident that we have here the Old Testament parallel to 1 Pet. iii. 19, iv. 6; especially as it is clear from ver. 61 that the salvation promised to Sodom was to consist in its reception into the kingdom of God, and the consequent enjoyment of all the blessings of that kingdom. One thought is common to all these passages, viz. *that all judgments, inflicted before the time of Christ, were merely provisional in their character, and could not be regarded as a final decision.* In the first: "by which also he went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient,"[1] &c., the primary reference is merely to the daring sinners before the flood, just as in this passage it is only to the notorious sinners in Sodom. But the *second* shows that the particular species represent the whole genus, since the dead generally are spoken of there: "for this cause was the gospel preached to them that are dead; that they might be judged according to men in the flesh, but live according to God in the spirit."[2] This passage serves so far to complete the first, that it

[1] The explanation of *J. Gerhard*, which has been improved by *Besser*, that the preaching referred to was the preaching of Noah in the spirit of Christ, is completely refuted by the word πορευθεὶς; (*cf.* ver. 22, where πορευθεὶς is applied to the ascension of Christ, just as here it is applied to the descent to hell.)

[2] *Roos:* Caro est humanitas terrestris, mortalis et infirma horum hominum, quae judicium dei experta est: spiritus vero eadem humanitas coelestem indolem nacta, quae exantlato judicio vitae secundum deum compos fit.

is expressly stated that the preaching is to salvation, and the second again requires to be completed by the first (cf. Güder, die Lehre von der Erscheinung Christi unter den Todten (Bern 53 p. 46 sqq.). We are led indirectly to the same result by the words of Christ in Matt. xii. 41, "the men of Nineveh shall rise up in the judgment with this generation and shall condemn it, for they repented at the preaching of Jonah, and behold a greater than Jonah is here." For if, notwithstanding the deep guilt and corruption of the heathen world, it is still declared capable of salvation; the opportunity of attaining it must be put within its reach by Him, who desireth not the death of the sinner, but rather that he should return and live. Still more to the point, however, is Matt. xi. 22 and 24, "it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the judgment than for thee." By the land of Sodom we are to understand the same as by Sodom and her daughters in the passage before us, namely, the former inhabitants. Their condition is first of all regarded as already made known, without going beyond what is recorded of them in the Book of Genesis. If we merely look at this, Sodom must be in a better position than Capernaum at the judgment. For Sodom did not cast away from her the full revelation of grace and salvation, (ver. 23.) If this be the case, however, it cannot remain so, but before the last decisive judgment, the same light of salvation must be offered to Sodom as to Capernaum. From the declaration, "if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have continued to this day," the assurance, "I will return to the captivity of Sodom and her daughters," immediately follows. That even then the words "ye would not," (Matt. xxiii. 37), will still hold good of individuals, is evident from the whole tenor of Scripture. The express declaration of the prophet himself in chap. xlvii. 11 is sufficient proof that an absolute, and, so to speak, a forcible restoration is not for a moment to be thought of.—It is worthy of notice that Sodom is placed at the head. This is evidently to be taken as an intimation that the covenant people would be put to the greater shame by the fact that the heathen world (represented by Sodom), would be the first to attain to salvation, and also as a preparation for Rom. xi. 25, "I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery, that blindness (πώρωσις) in part is happened

to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in,"—a preparation which we need not hesitate to admit in the present instance, since the same truth is clearly expressed in the Song of Solomon and Isaiah. At the sametime, the announcement with reference to the precedence of the heathen world in the enjoyment of salvation, is both completed and limited by the declaration in ver. 61, that salvation would always come from the Jews.—*And to the captivity of thy captivity:* that is which consists in thy captivity, in other words, to thine own captivity. שבית has already occurred twice with a noun immediately following it; and on this occasion we must imagine something like an interruption to the train of thought. Judah would not conceive it possible that, with regard to captivity, it was to be placed on a level with Samaria and Sodom. Jeremiah had constantly to contend against the obstinate illusion, that judgment would be arrested in the midst of its course (compare, for example, chap. vii. 4, where they trust in lies, saying, "the temple of the Lord are we").—The expression "in the midst of them," denotes fellowship with them in their captivity.

Ver 54. "*That thou mayest bear thine own shame, and be ashamed of all that thou hast done, in that thou comfortest them.*"

These words are connected with the notice of Judah's captivity or misery in the foregoing verse: "I turn to the captivity, which thou wilt endure no less than Sodom and Samaria, in order that, &c." For "I will give thee nothing, but the sentence which my justice has pronounced shall surely come upon thee" (Berleburger Bible). *To bear* is the same as to suffer (cf. ver. 52, xxxii. 24, 25, 30). She *comforts* her sisters by the fact that she suffers as much as they (cf. chap. xiv. 22, 23).

Ver. 55. "*And thy sisters, Sodom and her daughters, shall return to their former estate, and Samaria and her daughters shall return to their former estate, and thou and thy daughters shall return to your former estate.*"

The former estate was in general one of prosperity. But the new prosperity will be essentially different in its character, namely much more exalted and spiritual, than their former condition had been. We find a reference to this passage (LXX. *ἀποκατασταθήσονται καθὼς ἦσαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς*) in Acts iii. 21, *ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν*

μὲν δέξασθαι ἀχρὶ χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων, ὧν ελάλησεν ὁ θεὸς διὰ στόματος τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ προφητῶν, on which *Bengel* observes ἀποκατάστασις is the restoration of things to their former condition.

Ver. 56. "*And was not Sodom thy sister as a saying in thy mouth in the day of thy pride?*"

As a saying: lit. as a rumour (see the note on Is. liii. 1), so that the mouth overflowed with tales of Sodom's fearful sin and equally fearful punishment. But when Judah is made like Sodom in misery, and Sodom like Judah in its deliverance, the disposition to such proud contemptuous treatment of its poorer sister will thoroughly pass away.

Ver. 57. "*Before thy wickedness was laid bare, as was the case in the time of the daughters of Aram, and all that were round about her, as the daughters of the Philistines, who despised thee round about.*"

The wickedness of Judah was laid bare by the judgments, of which the powers of the world, beginning with Babylon, were the instruments. Aram in the east and the Philistines in the west (Is. ix. 11) are not quoted as the agents, employed in laying the nakedness of Judah bare, the ministers of divine justice,—in that case other names would have been selected,—but they stand in the same relation to Judah in its misery, as that in which Judah itself had formerly stood to Sodom: they "*despise* thee."

Ver. 58. "*Thy crimes and thine abominations, thou hearest them, saith the Lord.*"

They press heavily upon thee in their consequences, thou sufferest the punishment thereof, quite as much as Sodom, whom thou didst formerly despise, in suffering the punishment of its sins.

Ver. 59. "*For thus saith the Lord Jehovah, and I do with thee, as thou hast done, who hast despised the oath breaking the covenant.*"

Ver. 60. "*But I remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth, and establish unto thee an everlasting covenant.*"

A similar promise is contained in Lev. xxvi. 42, that after visiting them with just punishment, the Lord would remember his covenant.

Ver. 61. "*And thou rememberest thy ways and art ashamed,*

when thou receivest thy sisters, who are greater than thou, to those who are less than thou art, and I give them to thee for daughters, and not out of this covenant."

The greater and lesser sisters are the greater and lesser contemporaneous nations (cf. ver. 46). The figure is based upon the idea, that the human race is a large family, which originated in the important doctrine, that the whole race has sprung from a single pair. The fact, that sisters generally are spoken of here, shows that Sodom and Samaria, in v. 55, are selected as representatives of a numerous class. The heathen nations are first spoken of, as *daughters* of Jerusalem, in the Song of Solomon; see the note on chap. i. 5. The salvation is a common one, but it originates with the Jews, and the rest become partakers of it only through their mediation. *Starck* says: "Not only did Christ the Saviour of the world spring from the Jewish race, but all the apostles and disciples of Christ were Jews; when therefore they converted Gentiles to the Christian faith, they became their spiritual fathers, as Paul says in 1 Cor. iv. 51: 'I have begotten you in Christ.'" The highest honour is conferred upon Judah by the fact that she receives all her sisters as daughters; and she is covered with shame at the thought that she has been honoured in a way so entirely different from what she really deserved. *Not out of this covenant, i.e.*, not because the fulfilment of thy covenant duties gave thee any claim to such an honour. *Villalpandus* says: Sed potius ex vi pacti mei et promissionis factæ Abrahamo; *Piscator:* "Not because thou art worthy of such an assemblage of nations, on account of thine observance of the covenant, but of pure favour."

Ver. 62. *And I establish my covenant with thee, and thou learnest that I am the Lord* (ver. 63), *that thou mayest remember and be ashamed and not open thy mouth any more on account of thy shame, when I forgive thee all that thou hast done."*

The greater the favour shown to the ungrateful, the greater is their shame on account of their disgraceful apostasy.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XVII. 22—24.

This prophecy belongs to the period immediately following the last; for the collection is chronologically arranged, and it stands midway between the section chap. viii.—xi., which is dated the sixth month of the sixth year, and chap. xx., which was written in the fifth month of the seventh year subsequent to the captivity of Jehoiachin. It was delivered, therefore, four or five years before the destruction of the city. The representation of powerful kings and their dominions as lofty trees, full of branches and twigs, was a figure peculiarly Babylonian. This is evident from Dan. iv. 11, 12, where we find in the account of Nebuchadnezzar's dream: "Great was the tree and strong, and its height reached to heaven, and the sight thereof to the end of all the earth. The leaves thereof were fair, and the fruit thereof much, and in it was meat for all; the beasts of the field had shadow under it, and the fowls of the heaven dwelt in the boughs thereof, and all flesh was fed from it." The interpretation follows in ver. 22, "thou art the tree, O king." There is a remarkable agreement between Daniel and Ezekiel xxxi. 3 sqq., where Asshur is introduced as a cedar in Lebanon richly covered with foliage, whose top reached to the clouds, in whose boughs all the fowls of the heaven made their nests, and under whose branches the beasts of the field brought forth their young, whilst many nations dwelt under its shadow. The prophet makes use of the same figure in the passage before us. The family of David is a lofty cedar in Lebanon. Nebuchadnezzar breaks off the highest branch and takes it to Babylon (the captivity of Jehoiachin and the rest of the royal family). He sets an inferior plant in Jerusalem, a vine—(the investiture of Zedekiah) —but no sooner has it taken root than it is pulled up again. The Lord now takes a slender twig from the crown of that great cedar, and plants it on his holy hill of Zion. It grows to a stately cedar, beneath whose shadow all kinds of birds take up their abode. The rest of the trees perceive its marvellous growth, and acknowledge that it is the Lord, by whom all trees are exalted and cast down. Matt. xiii. 32 is to be regarded as an explanation of

this, though the figure is somewhat modified by the Lord, who substitutes for the slender twig of the lofty cedar the grain of mustard seed, "which indeed is the least of all seeds, but when it is grown it is the greatest among herbs, and becometh a tree, so that the birds of the air come and lodge in the branches thereof." The reason of this modification is to be discovered in the fact, that the purpose of the Lord was merely to depict the progress of the new kingdom of God, which began with his appearance in the flesh, and from small beginnings attained to a glorious consummation. The mission of the prophet, on the other hand, was to console for the loss of former glory, and hence to symbolize not merely the low estate, but the course which led to it, and at the same time to set this forth as only a transition state, leading from their former exaltation to a condition infinitely higher.

V. 22. "*Thus saith the Lord Jehovah; and I take from the top of the lofty cedar, and set, I break off from its crown a tender twig and plant on a mountain high and exalted.*"

אֲנִי (I) stands in direct antithesis to Nebuchadnezzar, who had also broken off and planted (vers. 3, 4). He had done it for evil, the Lord would do it for good. The former, a weak man, could only effect a temporary degradation, by permission of the Lord; but the Lord, the Almighty, would effect a permanent exaltation. צַמֶּרֶת only occurs in Ezekiel. That it is a rare and figurative expression (probably the *wool* of the tree, the *curly* top) is evident, partly from the fact that it is met with no where else, and partly also because both here and in ver. 4 it is explained more precisely by the *top of his twigs*. The rendering, top, is demanded by the other passages, *e.g.* xxxi. 3, "between the clouds was his Zammereth," ver. 10, "he sent his Zammereth even to the clouds," ver. 14, "they shall not send their Zammereth to the clouds," especially if we render בֵּין עֲבֹתִים not "between twigs," which gives no proper sense, but "between clouds." עָבוֹת, clouds, was one of those words, which had gradually lost their plural signification. And Ezekiel formed the new plural עבתים, which is only used by him in this sense; compare chap. xix. 11, "high became his growth, higher than the clouds." As the tender shoot is taken from the lofty *cedar* (mentioned in the previous verse), the emblem of the stock of David, it cannot de-

note the kingdom of God in its humble commencement, but must refer to an offshoot of the stock of David; especially as the prophet evidently had before his mind the similar representations of earlier prophets, particularly of Jeremiah (see the note on chap. xxiii. 5.) Hence the cedar in this passage, as well as in Daniel, is not the kingdom, but the king; and this is also apparent from the contrast presented to the conduct of Nebuchadnezzar in ver. 3, and from the contents of the rest of the chapter, which is occupied throughout with the royal family. That the tender twig from the lofty cedar, which afterwards grows into a tall cedar itself, is no other than the Messiah, who sprang from the deeply degraded family of David, cannot for a moment be doubted, when we consider the parallel passages in both Ezekiel and the other prophets. So much, however, may perhaps be admitted, that the prophet was not thinking of the Messiah as an individual, but as the person in whom the idea of the stem of David was fully realised, and therefore that the prophecy may be regarded, as including both the very small step towards its restoration, which was taken under Zerubbabel in accordance with the promise to David, and also in a certain sense everything that was done by God, for the re-establishment and maintenance of the civil government in Israel (compare the note on Jer. xxxiii). The difference is substantially of but little importance. For even if the prophet had in view the whole family of David, and depicted its progress from a humble commencement to a glorious end, he was conscious, when writing, that it was in and through the Messiah alone, that this promise was to be literally and perfectly fulfilled for the family of David itself, and through that family for the nation at large. The low condition of the nation was closely connected with that of its head, and therefore רַךְ must be referred to both. *Hitzig* would restrict the tenderness to youthful age, in total disregard of the fundamental and parallel passages, such as Is. xi. 1, liii. 2. It is hardly an accidental coincidence that in 2 Sam. iii. 39 רַךְ is applied to David himself, who was at first tender and feeble in his *royal* capacity. Ezekiel appears to have had this passage before his mind. Even in 1 Chr. xxii. 5, xxix. 1, where Solomon is described as רַךְ (tender), the reference is not merely to his age (נַעַר occurs just before), but to the weakness, which in his case arose undoubt-

edly from his youth (cf. 2 Chr. xiii. 7.) The original lowliness of the Messiah is seen in the very fact, that the twig is first planted upon the high mountain.—We have here simply a general announcement that the spot, in which the twig was planted, was a high mountain, and in this announcement an indication of its destiny, when once it had grown to be a tree, to rule over all the trees of the plain, עֲצֵי הַשָּׂדֶה in ver. 24.—In ver. 23 this high mountain is more particularly described.

Ver. 23. "*On the high mountain of Israel will I plant it, and it puts forth branches and bears fruit, and becomes a splendid cedar, and all fowls of every wing dwell under it, in the shadow of its branches will they dwell.*"

The high mountain of Israel is evidently Mount Zion in the more comprehensive sense, including Mount Moriah, as we may see from chap. xx. 40: "for on my holy mountain, on the high mountain of Israel, there shall all the house of Israel, all of them in the land, serve me." The temple hill is evidently intended here, for the offering of sacrifices is expressly mentioned. The corresponding term *holy* in the parallel passage shows how we are to understand the word *high* both there and in the verse before us. It is a height that is hidden from the natural eye, for elsewhere the prophet himself speaks simply of a hill of the Lord (chap. xxxiv. 26.) But the spiritual eye beholds it, although thus hidden, towering high above all the mountains of the earth, and even reaching to the heavens. In fact the description itself shows, that the holy mountain is not introduced here merely as a mountain, but as the seat and centre of the kingdom of God, and therefore denotes the kingdom itself (see the notes on Is. ii. 2, and Ps. xlviii. 3.) The twig is planted in a lofty place, and grows to a tall cedar. The glory of the future king is founded upon that of the kingdom, over which he rules; and, on the other hand, so greatly does the former increase, that it heightens the glory of the kingdom, in return. The *fruits* denote the blessings enjoyed by all the subjects of this king (see Is. xi. 1.) The *shadow* is the usual figure employed to represent protection (Ps. xxxvi. 8). "All fowls of every wing" are all the nations of the whole earth, as we may see from chap. xxxi. 6 and 12. It is evident from chap. xxxix. 4, 17 that this is the proper way to connect the

words. The expression is taken from Gen. vii. 14, where birds of every kind of wing take refuge in Noah's ark.—The prophet has but one design, namely, to remove the difficulty, which would necessarily arise from both the existing, and future degradation of the family of David, and consequently of the Kingdom of God. He holds up, therefore, but one single point, their ultimate exaltation, and thereby administers consolation to us as well, whenever we are filled with trouble at seeing the Kingdom of God and of Christ in a similar condition. *Calvin* says: "We are taught by this that better hopes are to be cherished with regard to the Kingdom of Christ, than our senses would lead us to entertain . . . when we see the gospel creeping, as it were, upon the ground, let us call to mind this passage. . . . . God has so firmly founded the one Kingdom of Christ, that it is to last as long as the sun and moon endure; but the other kingdoms of the world will vanish with the glory thereof, and their pride will be brought down, even though now they may overtop the clouds." We have here the essence of Daniel's prophecy of the kingdoms of the world. It was not within the scope of the prophet, to describe the nature of the kingdom more minutely, to show, that is, that it is a spiritual kingdom (not indeed in contrast to a real kingdom, but to an earthly one). Still this may be inferred from the description which he has given.—A kingdom, which is not ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, and which, by the miraculous power of God alone, without earthly force, or earthly arms, has been brought along with its ruler from weak beginnings to a glorious issue, cannot be a worldly and carnal one. God's government of the world, not the rule of earthly kings, is the model and type of such a kingdom as this.

Ver. 24. "*And all the trees of the field learn, that I, the Lord, bring down the high tree, and exalt the low tree, make the green tree barren, and make the barren tree green. I, the Lord, speak and do it.*"

The trees of the field, in contradistinction to the cedar on the high mountain, on the kingdoms of the world along with their kings, whose fall is coincident with the rise of the kingdom of God. This mighty change furnishes them with a positive proof, that the Lord, whom they have hitherto been accustomed to despise in their proud boast of the stability of their fancied

greatness, is the king over all the earth, by whom alone kings and nations are exalted and cast down. (The preterites are to be taken as aorists, and the sentence is quite a general one). At the same time they are not simply left to *infer* from this remarkable exaltation, that it also belongs to the Lord to cast down; but the reference to "the trees *of the field*" shows that they themselves will have a striking illustration of the latter in the fate which awaits themselves. The elevation of the kingdom of God to world-wide supremacy cannot possibly be conceived of, without the fall of the kingdoms of the world. Their kings are thereby deprived of what they value most, their fancied self-sufficiency. They become vassals of God and of *his* king, —though this is in reality the highest honour, that can possibly be conferred upon them. The closing words show that what, outwardly considered, appeared to be nothing more than the most glorious dream that ever had been dreamed, attained to the most complete reality through the person of the promised Messiah. It was *God* who gave the promise, it is by God also that the promise is fulfilled.

CHAP. XXI. 25—27.

The twenty-first chapter, which forms part of an address delivered by the prophet in the fifth month of the seventh year from the captivity, that is about five years before the destruction of Jerusalem, may properly be described as the prophecy of the sword of the Lord. The sword, which is put into the hands of the king of Babylon for the punishment of evil-doers, falls first upon Jerusalem; it then reaches the Ammonites, the bitter enemies of the Lord and of his people, who are made to learn, from their own destruction, that the fate of Jerusalem is not, as they imagined, a proof of the weakness, but rather of the omnipotence of its God.

Ver. 25. "*And thou pierced wicked prince of Israel, whose day comes at the time of the final transgression!*"

The reigning king, Zedekiah, is addressed; and the epithet em-

ployed shows that the words, which follow in ver. 31, apply peculiarly to him. We must therefore supply the usual appeal, "hear the word of the Lord," which has been left out in the intensity of the prophet's feelings. The rendering "unholy, cursed" (LXX. *βέβηλε*), instead of *pierced*, owes its origin no doubt to the fact, that the translator cast a side glance at the history, to see whether Zedekiah was actually pierced through. The result was not satisfactory; Zedekiah remained alive, but his sons were slain before his eyes, and then his own eyes were put out. But as we find the vengeance of God set forth throughout the entire chapter under the image of a drawn sword, it is evident that full justice is done to חלל, if it can be shown that the king was in any way the object of divine wrath. On the outward form of the punishment the word *chalal* says nothing, any more than there was an actual sword in the hands of God:—There is just as little force in another objection, namely that Zedekiah was not *yet* pierced. The prophet's intention is to strike and terrify by the immediate juxtaposition of guilt and punishment. The ungodly man is already judged; the few years' respite allowed him are not taken into consideration. To the eye of faith punishment appears as the inseparable attendant upon sin. In its view the sinner, who is still actually sitting in high places, lies weltering in his blood.—The following are our reasons for rejecting the meaning accursed, and adopting the rendering "pierced" instead. 1. חלל *never* means anything but "pierced through." It is not even used in the general sense of "perished;" for חַלְלֵי רָעָב, pierced through with hunger (Lam. iv. 9), may be explained on the assumption that we have here an example of poetical personification, hunger being represented as armed with a sword, and in Is. xxii. 2 it is very evident that reference is made to such as fall by the sword of pestilence. Least of all can it be rendered *profanatus*. The only passage adduced in support of this meaning, Lev. xxi. 7, 14, proves nothing. The word is used there in its ordinary signification. חללה is opposed to "a wife in her virginity" (ver. 13), and includes as species the widow, the divorced woman, and the prostitute. 2. Even if the meaning "profane" were met with elsewhere, it would not be admissible here. A sword and piercing form the key note of the whole chapter, and recur in nearly every verse. Compare, *e.g.*, vers. 3, 9, 10, 11, and espe-

cially ver. 12: "a sword goeth over my people, over all the princes of Israel; they are given to the sword along with my people." See also ver. 14: "the sword will come tripled, the sword of the pierced, חַלְלִים; it is the sword of a pierced one, of the great one" (*Michaelis:* "by which not the people only, but the King himself, the princes and great men fall"). 3. Those who adopt the rendering "profane," overlook the connection between this verse and ver. 29. According to ver. 19 sqq. the sword of the King of Babylon is to cut two ways. First of all it turns towards Jerusalem, where the king is slain before any of the rest. It then pasess over to the Ammonites, ver. 28 sqq., and we read in ver. 29: "the sword lays thee upon the necks of the wicked, who are pierced through, whose day cometh at the time of the final transgression." This agreement is the more important, as it is certainly not accidental, but the prophet evidently intends that the unity of expression shall indicate a unity in the fate which awaits the two nations. The fact that the kingdom of God does not fall when Israel is overthrown, but that it is rather avenged thereby, and thus the degradation of Israel becomes a proof of its supremacy, is still further shown in the fate of the Ammonites, who are severely punished for the crimes they have committed against Israel, so far as it is the kingdom of God.—The general term נָשִׂיא, prince, instead of the more special term מֶלֶךְ, king, is a peculiar favourite with Ezekiel. This cannot be merely accidental; there must be some reason for it. The day of the prince is shown by the context to denote the day of his fall, the day in which judgment overtakes him. עֲוֹן קֵץ is also found not only in ver. 29, but in chap. xxxv. 5 in the prophecy against Edom: "because thou dost cherish perpetual enmity, and hast given up the children of Israel to the power of the sword, in the time of their calamity, in the time of the final transgression." It is very certain that עָוֹן cannot be rendered "punishment," as it has been by *de Wette* and *Ewald*. It never means anything but "transgression." The only question that can possibly arise is how to interpret קֵץ. The final transgression may be the full transgression, the culminating point, when the vengeance of God can no longer be delayed. We may

compare Gen. xv. 16, "the iniquity of the Amorites is not yet full," which evidently implies that the day will come when it will be full, and the people will therefore be ripe for judgment. The final transgression, however, may also be the transgression, which brings in its train the end of all, the overthrow of the nation, just as *βδέλυγμα ἐρημώσεως* is the abomination which is followed by desolation (see the remarks on Dan. ix. 27.) And this explanation is favoured by the use of קֵץ in other connexions; compare especially chap. vii. 2: "thus saith the Lord God unto the land of Israel: an end! the end comes upon the four borders of the land," and ver. 3, "now is the end upon thee, and I send my wrath upon thee, and judge thee according to thy ways, and recompense to thee all thine abominations." But even this explanation involves the idea, that the measure of sin may be filled, that there is a culminating point at which it forces the avenging justice of God into action, because he could not be God if his long-suffering were still further extended; see the remarks on Zech. v. 5—11.

Ver. 26. "*Thus saith the Lord Jehovah, removed is the diadem, the crown taken off; this is not this; the low is made high, and the high brought low.*"

In the opinion of many (including *Ewald* and *Schmieder*) מִצְנֶפֶת is used here for the royal diadem. But the following reasons may be adduced in favour of a different view, namely, that it is rather the diadem of the high priest which is intended: 1. Wherever the word *Miznepheth* occurs, it always refers to the latter. Although originally it may have had a general meaning, after the institution of the high-priesthood, it was restricted to the head-dress of the high priest, or, what is still more probable, the word was coined by Moses with express reference to the ornaments worn by the high priest about his head. An appeal is made to the term צְנִיף מְלוּכָה, the royal diadem, in Is. lxii. 3. But all that this passage proves is, that the king also wore a diadem,—a fact which no one disputes. The peculiar form of the expression determines the meaning in this case. צָנִיף or צָנוּף is the general term, and may be applied to diadems of every description; when any particular kind is referred to, this is indicated by a second word (vid. Is. lxii. 3, and Zech. iii.

5). But מִצְנֶפֶת needed no such addition. The meaning is sufficiently restricted by the word itself. It is used in the Pentateuch not less than eleven times to denote the head dress of the high priest, and Ezekiel, the priest, who took such evident delight in adopting the phraseology of the Pentateuch, was the last person who was likely to make use of the word in a different sense, from that in which it is there employed.—2. If the diadem belonged to the king, we should have two kinds of royal head-dress, the diadem and the crown. This will present no difficulty indeed to those who agree with *Jahn* (Archäologie ii. 2, p. 225). In his opinion it is fully proved, that the kings were in the habit of wearing a diadem, as well as a crown. But the fact really was, that the diadem and crown were identical. It is no proof to the contrary, that the crown is described as golden in Ps. xxi. 4. There was a golden plate even in the diadem of the high priest. Their identity, on the other hand, may be inferred from the fact that we never read of more than *one* royal head-dress, a diadem *or* a crown; diadem and crown we never find together. Compare 2 Sam. i. 10: "and I took the diadem, נֵזֶר, which was on his head;" 2 Kings ii. 12, "and he brought forth the King's son, and put the diadem upon him" (see also Esther viii. 15.) Moreover it is evident from Job xxxi. 36, "I would *bind* it as a crown to me," that the form of the crown resembled that of a diadem, and not that of a modern crown. This conclusion is favoured by the use of the plural עֲטָרוֹת in cases in which only *one* crown is referred to; *cf.* Job xxxi. 36, and our remarks on Zech. vi. 11.—3. The appropriateness of such a combination of the head-band and the crown, of the abolition of the high-priestly glory along with that of the king,—involving, as it did, the complete abrogation of the prerogatives of the covenant-people,—is apparent from the contrast presented by later prophecies, in which the sorrowing people are assured that *both* these offices will be restored together; see Zech. iv. and vi., and Jer. xxxiii. If salvation was not complete till both were restored; the end, קֵץ ver. 25, can only have been reached when both were taken away. The glory of the high-priestly office was concentrated in the head-dress which was worn by the high-priest himself, whose golden head-band bore the inscription "holy to the Lord," and in it the people received a pledge, that they possessed a recon-

ciled and gracious God (Ex. xxviii. 36—38.)—The only argument, that can be adduced *in favour* of referring the word to the head-dress of the king, is this: the words addressed to the king in ver. 25 require, that what follows should apply exclusively to him. But there is no force in this argument. It is very clear from the connexion with ver. 24, and still more so from the parallel passage in ver. 29, where "their day" takes the place of "his day," that the king is placed in the fore-ground merely as the representative of the nation, and that the whole nation is threatened in him. If, however, the king is regarded as the representative of the nation, the removal of the head-band affects him, quite as much as that of the crown. The two are intimately connected. The crown without the head-band is an empty show. The forgiveness of sins, which was obtained through the mediation of the high-priest, lay at the foundation of all the royal blessings of God.—The infinitives stand alone without any other verb, for the sake of emphatic brevity, whenever the intention is simply to give prominence to the main point; compare chap. xxiii. 30. Nothing is said here to indicate *who* is to take the things away; the prophet does nothing more than mention *the fact* of their removal. הרים to raise, lift up, then to take away; Is. lvii. 14; Dan. viii. 11. The words זֹאת לֹא זֹאת (this not this), of which many erroneous explanations have been given, are explained by the clause which follows: "The low is made high and the high made low," in other words, every thing from the least to the greatest, is turned upside down. זאת is used for the neuter, and the expression denotes a complete inversion of the existing state of things, a total revolution, in which nothing remains what it is. The conduct of the people had been such as to make the last first; and according to the divine *jus talionis* a similar inversion would appear in their subsequent fate. The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by the parallel passage, Is. xxiv. 1 sqq., which the prophet evidently had in his mind at the time, as ver. 27 very clearly shows. In ver. 2 of that passage in Isaiah, the same idea, the overturning of all existing relations, is individualised thus: "And it shall be, as the people, so the priest, as the servant, so the master, as the maid, so the mistress; as the buyer, so the seller, as the borrower, so the lender, as the creditor, so the debtor."—שִׂמָּלָה is masculine, with an unaccentuated ה, which

merely serves to give greater fulness and euphony to the word. *Ewald*, *Maurer*, and *Hitzig* suppose, that the pointers were at fault and mistook the feminine for a masculine. But there are too many analogous cases in existence to admit of such a supposition, and the question is set at rest by the masculine which immediately follows. A change of genders we should never look for in such a connection as this.

Ver. 27. "*Invert, invert, invert,*[1] *the land will I, this also abides not, until he comes, to whom is the right, to him I give it.*"

עַוָּה is a noun derived from the Piel, like קַלָּסָה, ridicule (chap. xxii. 4), from קָלַס; and נָאָצָה contempt (chap. xxxv. 12), from נָאַץ. The prophet has selected this word of his own forming, as these analogous derivations show, for the express purpose of pointing out the connexion between inversion as a punishment, and inversion as a crime. The reference to עָוֹן in ver. 24, 25, is very conspicuous. They were the first to turn things upside down; now it is God's turn. The triple reiteration adds force to the declaration. The suffix in אַשִּׁימֶנָּה may be referred either to זֹאת this, the existing condition of things, or to אֶרֶץ the land. The latter is favoured by the parallel passage in Is. xxiv. 1, "he inverteth the face thereof" (namely of the land), of which *Vitringa* has given an excellent exposition, and one thoroughly applicable to the passage before us. He says: "These metaphorical expressions indicate a complete inversion of the condition of the state, and a change of such a kind, that the lowest becomes highest, and the highest lowest, and perfect equality is produced in the circumstances of all, whether nobles or paupers, strong or weak, rich or poor, the republic itself being overturned and the inhabitants being stripped of all they possessed." In the phrase גַּם־זֹאת לֹא הָיָה the word *also* should be particularly observed. It shows that זֹאת (this) refers to *the* condition consequent upon the inversion mentioned immediately before. This *also* is not to be perma-

[1] The word *verkehren* would undoubtedly be more correctly and forcibly rendered "turn upside down," but so complex an expression hardly admits of being repeated three times as the text requires; "overturn," on the other hand, does not convey the correct idea.—Tr.

nent; the declaration "this is not this" applies just as much to the new condition as to the one which preceded it, and thus overthrow succeeds to overthrow; nowhere is there rest, nowhere security, everything is fleeting, until the appearance of the great restorer and prince of peace.—מִשְׁפָּט very frequently denotes the right to a thing. If we adopt this meaning here, we can only explain it as referring to the right to the head-band and crown, which their former possessors had forfeited through their ungodliness. We have already proved, however, (vol. i., p. 85 seq.), from the reference to Gen. xlix. 10 and Ps. lxxii., that the word is used here to denote justice in an absolute sense, in contradistinction to the wickedness and unrighteousness of those who had previously possessed the throne.—There is no ground whatever for rendering the suffix in נָתַתִּיו as a dative. The *person* was so clearly pointed out already, that there was no necessity to describe him further. The fundamental passage (Ps. lxxii. 1) requires that the suffix should be referred to the *right*.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XXXIV. 23—31.

The prophecy against the wicked shepherds, in chap. xxxiv., belongs to the series of revelations, which the prophet continued to receive from the evening of the day before the arrival of the fugitive, who brought the news of the capture of Jerusalem by the Chaldeans, till his arrival on the following morning (chap. xxxiii. 22). By the spirit of prophecy Ezekiel foresaw his coming, and by means of the word of the Lord, which interpreted the act of the Lord, he sought to ensure its producing the desired effect upon the exiles generally, whose elders had gathered round the prophet, with a large company besides, as they usually did when the hand of the Lord was upon him (cf. chap. xxxiii. 11). The word of the Lord by the prophet was for the most part consolatory, indicating his mercy and grace towards Israel, and his covenant fidelity; for his justice was so loudly proclaimed by the

event, that a hint was all that was required. In this respect we see here a perfect resemblance between Ezekiel and Jeremiah. Before the destruction falls, threats predominate in the addresses of both these prophets; but no sooner has it actually occurred, than *promises* take their place. Evil and good were equally hidden from the natural man before they actually came. From the same want of living faith sprang pride and haughtiness before the destruction, and after it despair,—both equally pernicious, and both in their turn alike the object of prophecy, the design of which was everywhere to bring out the idea in contradistinction to the existing reality.—We have already shown in our notes on Jer. xxiii., that we have there the groundwork of the prophecy in chap. xxxiv. It is the prophecy of the shepherds of Israel. The wicked shepherds are to be destroyed, and the sheep of Israel to be saved by the Lord, who will himself undertake the office of shepherd, and lead them by means of his servant David. The tidings of the fulfilment of the first part, the punishment of the wicked shepherds, which were brought in immediately afterwards, could not but serve as a pledge of the fulfilment of the second part, which rested upon the same foundation, the covenant faithfulness of the Lord.

Ver. 23. "*And I raise up one shepherd over them, and he feeds them, even my servant David, he will feed them and he will be their shepherd.*"

The word והקימותי is a sufficient disproof of the assertion of *Hitzig*, that Ezekiel expected the bodily resurrection of David, inasmuch as he is speaking of the appointment of a new prophet (*cf.* ver. 29, Deut. xviii. 15), not of the bringing back of an old one, which would have been something so thoroughly abnormal, that it would surely have been more definitely explained. Still more decisive is the evident allusion in ver. 12, to the original promise in 2 Sam. vii., "When thy days are full and thou liest with thy fathers, *I will raise* up (והקימותי) thy *seed* after thee, which cometh forth from thy body, and will establish thy kingdom." Those, who ascribe such singular opinions to particular prophets, have no conception of the manner in which all prophecy is linked together, as its divine mission necessarily requires. The last

link in the prophetic chain, with which Ezekiel throughout is closely connected, contains no hint of a bodily resurrection of David, it only speaks of a "Son reigning upon his throne." Again the fact that Ezekiel's reference to the Messiah consists of mere allusions, shows that he has no thought of bringing forward anything new with regard to his person, and is equivalent to an express rehearsal of former and fuller prophecies. The peculiar feature in this prophecy is the more distinct announcement of the Messiah as the good shepherd (*cf.* Jer. iii. 15, xxiii. 4). The words of the Lord in John x. 11, "I am the good shepherd," allude particularly to the passage before us. With regard to the article, *Lampe* says, "he pointed to those prophecies, with which the Pharisees were well acquainted, and in which he had been promised under this designation." Compare also 1 Pet. ii. 25, and Heb. xiii. 25, where allusion is made not only to Ezekiel, but to Jer. xxiii. and Zech. xi., between which prophecies this prediction of Ezekiel forms the connecting link. It is very evident from chap. xxxvii. 24, and from the parallel passage, Jer. xxiii. 5, 6, where Judah and Israel are classed together, that אחד (one) refers to the former separation of Israel and Judah; and it is altogether in vain that *Jahn* makes every exertion to defend the rendering "*unicus, singularis*,"—a meaning which the word never has. In substance, no doubt, he is right. There was to rise up a most distinguished descendant of David (*Venema:* "one in whom David, God's own king and representative, would, so to speak, live again"), in the strictest sense "one after God's own heart," who would receive back in its fullest extent the kingdom of his father. For the loss of dominion was threatened as a punishment to the family of David, because it was no longer after God's own heart, and even the most faithful of David's successors had not been so truly "after God's heart," that the promise of a future reunion (*cf.* 1 Kings xi. 39), could be fulfilled in them. Hence the announcement of *one* shepherd involved a declaration of the highest excellence, and also of the fact that the grace of God in its richest measure would be bestowed upon the nation through him. There is a direct reference to this passage in John x. 16, "one fold," "one shepherd," where our prophecy is still further extended, and Christ is declared to be a shepherd not for Judah

and Israel alone, but for the Gentiles also, and the one shepherd *is* just on this account "the good shepherd," (ver. 11.) *Hitzig's* assertion, that אחד is used "in contradistinction to several in succession," founders on both the parallel passage and the original promise, the latter of which takes away all force from his argument, that previous to this there is no allusion to the two-fold division of Israel. In the relation in which Ezekiel stood to Jeremiah, the 23d chapter of the prophecies of the latter must be regarded as the context to this passage.—The title given to David, "servant of God," relates not merely to his willing obedience *(Hävernick)*, but also and still more to his election; see our remarks on Is. xlii. 1.—The rule of David, the type, is described as a feeding, with particular reference to his former vocation, 2 Sam. vii. 8; Ps. lxxviii. 70, 71 (see the note on this passage). רְעֵה indicates the design, רָעָה its fulfilment. The contrast between the two, which was so conspicuous in the conduct of previous shepherds, and plunged the nation into such indescribable misery, is now to cease (compare, in addition to the parallel passages already quoted, Jer. xxx. 9; xxxiii. 15, 16). Our remarks on Jer. xxxiii. 18, with reference to the preliminary fulfilment of the prophecy under Zerubbabel and the other leaders of the people, are equally applicable here. We may very properly interpret the name David as denoting the race of David which merely culminated in Christ, so that the fulfilment in Christ was not the only one, but was the highest and truest fulfilment (see the remarks on Is. lv. 3 and Hos. iii. 5).

Ver. 24. "*And I, the Lord, will be God to them, and my servant David prince in the midst of them, I, the Lord, have spoken it.*"

The promise to David is to flourish again, his descendant is to be the servant of God in so complete a sense, that the former painful difference between the direct and indirect government of God will altogether cease.

Ver. 25. "*And I conclude with them a covenant of peace, and exterminate the wild beasts out of the land, and they dwell safely in the desert and sleep in the woods.*"

The meaning of this covenant has already been discussed in Jer. xxxi. 32. Peace with God, which was to be secured by the servant of God, the Prince of Peace (Is. ix. 5), the true Solo-

mon (see the note on Gen. xlix. 10), would be followed by peace with the creatures of God, which he had hitherto enlisted against his rebellious people. The description given by the prophet in this and the following passages rests entirely upon Lev. xxvi. Compare for example ver. 6: "And ye dwell safely in your land, and ye lie down, and there is none to make you afraid; and I exterminate the evil beasts out of the land, and no terror shall penetrate into your land." From this classical passage the prophet intentionally borrows the form of his representation, the substance of which is, that wherever God is, his gifts and blessings will be found in all their fulness. He does not announce anything new, he merely repeats what the law of God had already declared to be necessarily involved in the idea of a covenant-nation. And whilst it was certain, that his prophecy had hitherto been but partially fulfilled in the history of Israel, it was just as certain that the complete fulfilment had yet to come; see Hosea ii. 20.

Ver. 26. "*And I make them and the environs of my hill a blessing, and cause the rain to descend in its season; they will be blessed rains.*"

The hill is Zion, the holy mountain. It is evident, however, from the pronoun "*them*," that the hill denotes Israel, the people of God, of whom it was the spiritual dwelling place. Hence the environs of the hill must necessarily be the heathen, who are allied with Israel. Compare chap. xvii. 23, where all the fowls of the earth are said to gather together under the tree of the kingdom of God;—chap. xvi. 61, where Zion receives its sisters, the rest of the nations, as daughters;—chap. xlvii. 8, where the water of salvation, which issues from the new temple, is described as flowing through the desert and healing the waters of the Dead Sea (the emblem of the world), and John iv. 18. *Hävernick* thinks the introduction of the heathen is out of place in such a passage as this, where the glory of Israel alone is referred to. But as far back as Gen. xii. salvation for the heathen is inseparably connected with salvation for Israel, and Israel cannot possibly enjoy complete salvation, without the heathen sharing in it. Moreover, the environs of the hill could never stand for Israel itself, for, according to the Old Testament idea, Israel dwells on Zion (Is. x. 24), not round about it. The

word סביבותיה (those "round about her") is used in chap. xvi. 57, to denote the heathen nations around Jerusalem; compare chap. v. 5, 6; Dan. ix. 16; Micah v. 6.—*A blessing* is a stronger expression than *blessed; cf.* Gen. xii. 2. Israel is to be a living blessing. The representation of the blessing as rain, founded, as it is, upon the natural peculiarity of Canaan, which made all the rest of the natural blessings of God dependent upon the rain, is also taken from Lev. xxvi. 4 (compare Deut. xi. 13, 14; Joel ii. 23.)

Ver. 27. "*And the tree of the field yields its fruit, and the land yields its produce, and they dwell safely in their land, and they learn that I am the Lord, since I break their yoke and deliver them out of the hand of those who enslave them.*"

The clause from "and" to "produce" is taken from Lev. xxvi. 3; the next clause from ver. 5 of the same chapter. And in the third clause there is a casual allusion to ver. 13: "I, the Lord your God, which brought you forth out of the land of Egypt, out of bondage, and I brake your yoke." As Israel had then a positive proof that God was Jehovah, so shall it receive a fresh proof, and personal experience of the fact in the still greater repetition of that event, viz., their redemption from the dominion of the world, and entire subjection to God and his anointed. In this allusion we find an intimation that, to redeem Israel, God does not need to become different from what he is, but that He, Jehovah, the sole perfect Being, needs only to continue unchangeably the same. The construction of עָבַד with בְּ, to serve in a person, to perform service by means of a person, then to enslave him, is taken from Ex. i. 14.

Ver. 28. "*And they shall no more be for a prey to the heathen, neither shall the beasts of the earth devour them, and there is none who makes them afraid.*"

The heathen can only exercise dominion over the nation of the Lord, when through its own fault it has ceased to be a nation at all. Now, therefore, their power over Israel is brought to an end. The wild beasts, in both a literal and figurative sense, are the heathen conquerors; *cf.* Is. xxxv. 9, lvi. 9; Ez. xviii. 10.

Ver. 29. "*And I raise up to them a plantation for a name,*

and they shall no longer be swept away by hunger in the land, and they shall not bear any more the reproach of the heathen."

מַטָּע is to be taken in the sense of plantation. There is an allusion to Gen. ii. 8, 9: "and God *planted* a garden eastward in Eden, and there he placed the man whom he had formed; and out of the ground made the Lord God to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight *and good for food.*" (Observe the *hunger* in the verse before us.) With this passage compare also the words of God after the fall (iii. 18, 19): "thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field. In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." The history of the fall is constantly recurring; the first sin shows both the genesis and consequence of every sin. Moses himself directs attention to its significance in this respect, when he observes that before the destruction of the cities of the plain of Jordan, it was well watered everywhere, as *the* garden of God, *i.e.*, paradise (Gen. xiii. 10). But the prediction contained in the history of the fall was more especially realised in Israel. God had planted for it a garden in Eden, full of trees pleasant to the sight and good for food. He had given it the land flowing with milk and honey, together with all the blessings attached to its possession. But Israel had listened to the voice of the tempter, and its paradise had vanished, though not for ever. Once more would God plant it a garden in Eden filled with pleasant trees. The existence of such an allusion in the passage under review is confirmed by chap. xxxvi. 35: "this land becomes like the garden of Eden;" and by chap. xlvii. 12: "and on the brook (compare the words of Gen. ii. 10, 'and a stream went out of Eden to water the garden' with ver. 1 of the chapter, 'behold waters issued out from under the threshold of the house eastward') there grow on both sides, on its banks, all kinds of fruit trees; their leaves do not wither, and their fruits do not cease." There is also a similar allusion in Is. lx. 21; and lxi. 3: "and they shall be called terebinths of righteousness, the planting of the Lord for glory;" but here the righteous themselves are described as the trees of the new paradise, whereas in the passage before us the plantation is formed for them. *Vitringa*: "it is

to be converted into a paradise of God, to be planted, as it were, with cuttings from the plantations of God, which will grow into strong and lofty oaks;" compare Joel ii. 3, where the land, previous to the judgment, is described as resembling the garden of Eden, and then again, after the restoration, a fountain like a fountain of paradise issues from the house of Jehovah and waters the valley of the thorn trees (chap. iii. 18; *cf.* Zech. xiv. 8.) If, then, this allusion is clearly established, it is also certain, that the meaning of this passage goes beyond that of the parallel passage in chap. xxxvi. 30: "and I multiply the fruit of the tree, and extend the produce of the field, that ye may no longer receive the reproach of famine among the heathen" (a passage which is sufficient in itself to set aside such explanations as those of *Jahn*, *Rosenmüller*, and *Ewald)*, and that, in order to complete the whole, we must necessarily include the other parallel passage in chap. xlvii. 12. The new paradise which the Lord would plant for his people, denotes the blessings of divine grace in their fullest extent. The blessing of the fruit trees, which formed one portion thereof, was also symbolical. The outward plantation was a type and shadow of the spiritual fountain, whose waters issued from the sanctuary; just as hunger had previously represented a state of general destitution and want. The clause "they shall no more bear the reproach of the heathen," shows that the correct explanation of לְשֵׁם is not that given by *De Wette* "for *my* glory," but "for a name *to them.*" They become the nation of the blessed of the Lord, and thus are delivered from the reproach, which rested on them on account of their misery,—the heathen regarding this as a positive proof of the absurdity of their boast, that they alone were the people of the Most High God. There is also an allusion here to Deut. xxvi. 19, as well as in Zeph. iii. 19, and Jer. xiii. 11.

Ver. 30. "*And they find, from experience, that I, the Lord their God, am with them, and they, my people, the house of Israel, saith the Lord Jehovah.*"

"The house of Israel" is emphatical here: Israel, the people of God and covenant people in the strict and literal sense of the word (compare the note on chap. xi. 15).

Ver. 31. "*And ye are my flock, the flock of my pasture are*

ye men, I am your God, saith the Lord Jehovah ;" see our remarks on the similar expression in Jer. xxiii. 1.

The expression "ye men" directs attention to the depth and greatness of the divine condescension, and anticipates the objection, which incredulity would offer, to the effect that man, who has been taken from the earth *(adamah)*, and returns to it again, is incapable of so intimate a union with God.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XXXVI. 22—32.

The whole section, chap. xxxvi. 16—38, is included in the series of discourses delivered on the day before the intelligence arrived of the destruction of Jerusalem. This section is well and briefly described by *Venema* as follows: "He unfolds the cause and reason of the rejection and destruction, and also of the deliverance and restoration, the former of which may be traced to the corruption of the people, whilst the ground of the latter is solely the sanctification of the divine name." The former we find in the introduction (ver. 17—21), the latter in the leading portion of the discourse, ver. 22—38, of which we omit ver. 33—38, as simply containing a recapitulation.

Ver. 22. " *Therefore say to the house of Israel, thus saith the Lord Jehovah, not for your sake do I this, you of the house of Israel, but for my holy name's sake, which ye have profaned among the heathen, whither ye have come.*"

The holiness of the name of God denotes his incomparable and absolute glory (see the note on Ps. xxii. 4 and Rev. iv. 8). The fact that both here and in Is. xlviii. 11, the redemption of Israel is based upon the honour of God alone, in contradistinction to merit of every kind, was on the one hand very humiliating (compare Deut. ix. 6, "And thou knowest that the Lord does not give thee the good land for thy righteousness' sake"), since it

thoroughly annihilated all human claims; but on the other hand it was also very consolatory, for the broken and contrite hearts discovered that their salvation did not rest on any human foundation at all, and could not therefore be disturbed by the sins of their nation. At first sight the reason assigned by God for the redemption of Israel appears to be a very outward one. He seems to have been induced to change his former purpose of destroying Israel, by a cause entirely apart from himself, namely, the contemptuous speeches of the heathen, whose conclusions resulted entirely from their inability to discern the deeper grounds of what had occurred. But the thought must be distinguished from the form in which it is expressed. The latter is popular in its character, adapted to render the thought accessible to persons, whose minds are less disciplined than those of others. The conclusion drawn by the *heathen* was thoroughly well founded. That Israel was the people of Jehovah they never for a moment doubted; they were well acquainted with past events, which bore witness to the fact, and the tidings of the glorious promises and solemn oaths, which they had received from Him, had also reached their ears. If, then, all at once he cast this nation entirely off, how could they do otherwise than conclude, that there was not much ground for the boasted holiness and glory of this God, seeing that he had either promised what he could not perform, or was unwilling to perform what he had promised—in fact that he was exactly like their own deities, who merely reflected the sinful nature of their worshippers? If the heathen were correct in their supposition, that God had cast off his people *for ever* (we must imagine this as implied in the words, "the people of Jehovah are they, and they have gone forth out of their land," ver. 20), their conclusion was unanswerable, and the only possible way in which God could be justified was by a practical refutation of the words "for ever."—This view,—viz., that the words of the heathen are noticed only so far as they were founded upon facts, whilst the true foundation of the latter was the nature of God himself,—is confirmed by a comparison of such passages of the Pentateuch as the prophet had before his eyes, *e.g.*, Ex. xxxii.; Num. xiv.; and Deut. ix.[1] The profanation of the name of God refers not

[1] At first sight, indeed, it appears as if even in these passages the deliverance of Israel was represented as a matter of caprice, and by no means

to their actions but to their condition. This is evident from what precedes. But the prophet intentionally attributes to Israel, as an act of its own, all that had resulted from its condition and fate, which were so directly at variance with the idea of a covenant nation. For the guilt of these reproaches attached to them; their condition was the inevitable and natural consequence of their actions, and hence they were justly called upon to humble themselves on account of such reproaches. It was not the heathen, but they, who had brought down the high and holy God into the sphere of sin, impotence, and vanity.

Ver. 23. "*And I sanctify my name, the great one, which has been profaned among the heathen, which ye have profaned in the midst of them, and the heathen learn, that I am Jehovah, saith the Lord Jehovah, when I sanctify myself on you before your eyes.*"

dependent upon the divine nature. God speaks as if he was firmly resolved to destroy the nation, and afterwards appears to be induced entirely by the entreaties of Moses and such external grounds as the probable ridicule of the heathen, to limit his judgments to the actual sinners, and continue to the nation the blessings of its election. But on closer consideration it is evident, that, for a particular purpose, God brings forward first of all only one side of the whole question, namely, what he would do from the very necessity of his nature, if there were no covenant or promise in existence. This design is very conspicuous in all these passages; compare Ex. xxxii. 10: "and now let me alone, and my anger shall burn against them, and I will consume them, and make of thee a great nation." There are similar expressions in Num. xiv. 12, and Deut. ix. 14. The temptation of Israel, as the servant of God, is accompanied by the temptation of Moses, the servant of God also, as we may perceive from the outward circumstance that he fasts forty days—the standing sign of temptation in the Scriptures; *cf.* Deut. ix. 9. The temptation reaches its culminating point from the simple fact that Israel succumbs. This would give to Moses a very plausible pretext, for sacrificing the people to his own selfish interests, and establishing himself in their place. The leader of the people is to be tempted in all things like the people themselves. For this reason God only manifests one side of his nature, appears (without misrepresenting himself) as though he takes the side of his servant's self-interest. He leaves it *to him*, to bring the other side of his nature out to view. The fact that he does this constitutes his credentials, and the outward manifestation thereof is the seal which God sets upon them, the light of his countenance. In the manner, in which this is done by Moses, we may see clearly that he only cares for the reproaches of the heathen, so far as they are borne out by the facts of the case. For he distinctly mentions the facts in his appeals. Thus, for example, in Ex. xxxii. 13, he says: "Remember Abraham and Isaac and Israel, thy servants, to whom thou hast *sworn* by thyself, and hast said to them: I will multiply your seed," &c.; Deut. ix. 27: "Remember thy servants Abraham, &c., look not unto the stubbornness of his people; nor to their wickedness, nor to their sin;" Num. xiv. 17. "Now, I beseech thee, let the power of my Lord be great, as thou hast spoken: Jehovah, long-suffering," &c.

To sanctify is the same as to glorify. The expression "the great one," which is appended to "my name," assigns the reason. God takes care that his name shall receive due honour. The manner, in which God is sanctified or glorified on the Israelites, is explained in what follows. Many prefer the reading "in their eyes" to לְעֵינֵיכֶם in your eyes. The fact, that the former reading is found in several critical authorities, proves nothing more than that there have been critics before now, who judged according to first appearances. If it is certain that the reproach of the heathen rested upon facts, it is not less certain that it was absolutely necessary that God should vindicate his honour in the fate of the Israelites, as well as in that of the heathen. The two are classed together in chap. xx. 41, 42, just as they are here. "And I will be sanctified in you," says Jehovah in that passage, "before the heathen, and ye shall learn that I am Jehovah, when I bring you into the land of Israel, into the land, which I lifted up my hand to give to your fathers;" compare ver. 44, "and ye shall know that I am Jehovah, when I have wrought with you for my name's sake."—"Before your seeing eyes:" thus speaks the prophet with reference to the pusillanimity of his nation, which looked only at what was visible, and which it was the object of all these discourses to point out and condemn.

Ver. 24. "*And I take you from among the heathen, and gather you out of all lands, and bring you into your land.* Ver. 25. *And I sprinkle clean water upon you, and ye become clean from all your impurities; and from all your filth* (the idols) *will I cleanse you.*"

We have here first of all the groundwork pointed out of the sanctification of God in his people, namely, the forgiveness of sins, the taking away, which must precede all giving, (compare the notes on Jer. xxxi. 34). It is very evident that there is an allusion in this passage to the Mosaic rites of purification, especially to the holy water, in which the ashes of the red heifer were mixed, and which served as an antidote, first to the greatest of all defilements, contact with a corpse, and then to defilements in general (*vide* Num. xix. 17—19: "and for an unclean person they take of the ashes of the burnt sin-offering, and pour living water upon it in a vessel, and they take hyssop, and a clean man dips it in the water, and sprinkles the tent and

all the vessels, and the souls (persons) which are there; and the clean man sprinkles upon the unclean man and absolves him;" see also Ps. li. 9[1]). A plausible explanation of these allusions is sometimes given, namely, that the prophet changes the material into the spiritual; but it is more correct to say that what was a symbol in the law is employed as a figure by the prophet. He does not interpolate, he expounds. A proof of this opinion may be found in the fact, that those, who have attempted to explain the meaning and design of the laws of purification on other grounds, have fallen into great absurdities. Look, for example, at the section in *Michaelis'* Mosaisches Recht relating to this subject (Pt. 4, § 207 sqq.). That he did not shrink from the most far-fetched explanations is evident from §. 217, where Moses is said to have ordered unclean earthen vessels to be broken, because he did not approve of earthenware for cooking utensils, on account of its being so brittle and thus involving greater loss. The rest is of a piece with this, and yet in spite of his inventive faculty *Michaelis* is obliged to confess that there are many laws of uncleanness, for which he can see no object at all, no "social advantages." He devotes an entire section (§ 213), to the question, "why were there no laws relating to pestilence?

[1] According to *Hävernick* the prophet does not allude to Num. xix., but to Num. viii. 7, where the Levites, on the occasion of their consecration, are ordered to be sprinkled with the water of sin or of the sin-offering מי חטאת. But the fact, that nothing is said here about the manner in which the water was to be prepared, points to some subsequent passage, in which the proper directions are given, and such a passage we find in Num. xix. In ver. 9 it is expressly stated, that the water containing the ashes of the red heifer was not merely intended for defilements through contact with a corpse. It is spoken of there as an antidote for uncleanness and sins of every kind. It was quite in order, that the directions for the preparation of this water should be postponed till an account had been given of the ceremony, to be performed in connexion with the worst of all defilements, that of contact with a corpse, although it had been actually made use of before, and thus *Bähr's* objection (Symbolik Part 2, p. 166), falls to the ground. There is also a reference to Num. xix. in Ps. li. 9, as the mention of hyssop clearly shows (compare Num. xix. 18.) There was no other water of sprinkling than that prepared with the ashes of the red heifer, the colour of which represented sin. Compare Egypt and the Books of Moses (p. 173, translation), see also Heb. ix. 13, where the ashes of a heifer are mentioned along with the blood of bulls and goats.—*Schmieder's* remark, that the means of purification denoted the Holy Ghost (ver. 27), is by no means correct. Sprinkling with water is never referred to in the Scriptures as a symbol of renewal, but always denotes the forgiveness of sins; compare Zech. xiii. 1, in which there is also an allusion to Num. xix.

Ought not such diseases to have been pre-eminently pointed out in the law, as cases of Levitical impurity, in order to guard against infection?" If Moses had looked merely at "social advantages," he ought certainly to have given greater prominence to pestilence and many other infectious diseases, than to diseases, which are either not infectious at all,—and which *Michaelis* has been under the necessity of changing for the first time, into diseases that were not heard of for thousands of years after Moses died,—or which have so little of an infectious character about them, that, as in the case of leprosy, ordinary intercourse is attended with no danger whatever. Any one may see, that the reasons, assigned by him for the omission of pestilence, are quite inadmissible.—The support, thus obtained to the symbolical meaning of the laws relating to impurities and purifications, is strengthened on closer examination. We find outward defilements universally placed on a par with such as are spiritual, and the means of outward purification with those of a more inward character. See, for example, Num. xix. 20, "a man who defiles himself, and does not absolve himself, *that soul is exterminated* from the congregation; for he has defiled the sanctuary of the Lord.' The unclean man is treated in precisely the same manner as the sinner. The sacrifices offered for him are sin-offerings חטאת; the priest *makes expiation* for him before the Lord (see, for example, Lev. xv. 15). Those, who assume that the object contemplated was simply political, can find no other explanation, than that Moses made religion subservient to his own purposes. *Michaelis* asserts this without hesitation (§ 212): "God, who condescended to become the civil legislator of the Israelites, made use of the all-powerful instrumentality of religion." If this assertion were correct, nothing else would be needed to prove, that Moses was not a divine messenger,—a view which this work of *Michaelis* has done more to propagate, than all that has been written by those, who openly avow it as their belief. There is no foundation, however, for such an assertion. There is no indication whatever of political motives. On the other hand, the symbolical character of the whole of the law supports the conclusion, that this part is symbolical also. To excite a living consciousness of sin and holiness, and of the consequent necessity for substitution and expiation, was an object which Moses always

kept before him, and to this object the laws of purification were also subservient. The consequences of sin, so far as they are visible, are intended to produce this consciousness. All the ceremonies relating to outward impurities had reference to sin, which the people of the Old Testament, to whose care the language of symbols had been entrusted, would the more readily discern in the typical rite, from the fact that otherwise the action performed would have been unnecessary and absurd. We have already spoken of this in connection with one of the most prominent examples of Levitical uncleanness, namely leprosy, in our notes on Jer. xxxi. 39. With reference to another, uncleanness through contact with corpses, *Deyling* has correctly observed (Obss. iii. p. 70): "from this they could judge, how great was the corruption of such as were unregenerate and sinners in the sight of God." Those who were physically dead were the most appropriate symbol of such as were "dead in trespasses and sins" (Eph. ii. 1, 5; Col. ii. 13); compare in Heb. ix. 14, where sins are described as "dead works."—These remarks will serve to show the full meaning of the allusions to legal impurities and purifications. There is no arbitrary transfer of the physical to the spiritual in this case, but an exposition of a ceremony which originally referred to spiritual things. Ezekiel does not promise something new, but takes a promise already existing in the law and announces its complete fulfilment.[1]

Ver. 26. "*And I give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you, and I take away the heart of stone from within you, and give you a heart of flesh* (see the note on chap. xi. 19). Ver. 27. *And I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my commandments, and keep my righteous judgments and do them* (*cf.* chap. xi. 20). Ver. 28. *And ye dwell in the land, which I gave to your fathers, and become to me a people, and I become to you a God*" (compare chap. xi. 20).

The words "ye become &c." refer exclusively to their condition: they are to be treated as the people of God.

[1] In my Dissertations on the Pentateuch, vol. ii., p. 506 transl., I have already given elaborate proofs, that the ceremonial law is an allegory, intentionally clothing in drapery doctrines, which had been held without a symbol previous to their being thus clothed. Compare especially p. 509, where the laws of purification are treated of, and also my Commentary on Rev. xiv. 4.

Ver. 29. "*And I redeem you from all your uncleannesses, and call the corn and increase it, and suspend no more hunger over you.*

The *uncleannesses* referred to here are the same, as those spoken of in ver. 25; but according to the parallel passage the *redemption* has reference to their consequences.

Ver. 30. "*And I increase the fruit of the tree and the produce of the field, that the reproach of hunger may no more rest upon you among the heathen* (cf. chap. xxxiv. 27, 29). Ver. 31. *And ye remember your ways, the evil ways, and your deeds, which are not good, and become disgusted with yourselves on account of your sins and your abominations.* Ver. 32. *Not for your sakes do I this, saith the Lord Jehovah, let this be known to you, be ashamed of yourselves and blush for your ways, ye house of Israel.*"

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XXXVII. 22—28.

The thirty-seventh chapter also belongs to the series of revelations, which the prophet received during the night, before the arrival of the messenger with tidings of the destruction of Jerusalem, and which had all one common object, namely to counteract the faintheartedness and despondency of the people. The chapter contains a twofold, yet closely connected, message from God. In the first part (ver. 1—14) the restoration of the Israelites as a covenant nation is announced, in the second the re-establishment of their common brotherhood.

With reference to the first part, the question arises in what relation it stands to the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead. There can hardly be any doubt, that the prophet borrowed his imagery from this doctrine, and therefore that it was not only well known to him, but was regarded by the nation generally as indisputably certain. "Moreover," says *Pareau*, in his Comment. de immortal. p. 109, "it must be borne in mind that their discourses (viz., those of Isaiah and Ezekiel) were intended for public use; from which it follows that this doctrine of the resurrection was

so generally known in that age, that they were able to draw from it a very simple, clear, and, in a certain sense, popular imagery." The doctrine of the resurrection was current among the people of God in the time of Ezekiel. This is evident from Is. xxv. 8 and xxvi. 19 (to which passages Ezekiel apparently refers, *cf. Küper* Jeremias p. 96), and, as is generally admitted, from Dan. xii. 2. Hence it cannot possibly be supposed, that there is no connexion between the description contained in this chapter and the doctrine of the resurrection.[1] But the supposition, that there is any *direct* reference to it in this passage, is precluded by the exposition of the symbol in vers. 11—14.[2] The only explanation left, therefore, is that the prophet borrowed his imagery from it. Still we must not stop here. It must also be added, that the idea, expressed by the imagery, can only be fully realised when the event itself occurs, from which the imagery is borrowed; and therefore that the latter is not only taken from the event, but points to the event in return. As truly as God is God,—this is the idea,—so truly must all death be the pathway to life in his kingdom; and it is on this idea alone that the certainty of a *glorious* resurrection rests, a certainty which the idea itself would render indisputable, even if there were no express statements to this effect in the Word of God.

[1] *Hävernick* denied, that there was any distinct allusion to the doctrine of the resurrection, and *Oehler* has adopted his views (see his V.T. sententia de rebus post mortem, p. 45). According to *Hävernick*, the prophet does nothing more in vers. 1—10 than treat of a *locus communis*, the creative power of God, which *would* even suffice to awake the dead. But this view cannot be sustained without first denying that an explanation of the symbol in vers. 1—10 is afterwards given in vers. 11—14. Yet *Hävernick* himself, in his notes on chap. xvii., has explicitly shown that it is a very customary thing with Ezekiel, as well as Daniel, to give a symbol first and the explanation afterwards. Moreover it is expressly stated in ver. 11 that the description given in vers. 1—10 related to *particular* bones, and that we have, therefore, not the general followed by the particular, but the symbol followed by the explanation: "these bones are the whole house of Israel."

[2] This opinion has lately been revived by *Hitzig*. According to his theory we have here an announcement of the corporeal resurrection, not of the dead generally, as many of the early expositors imagined, but of the slain of Israel. But ver. 11 is sufficient of itself to refute such a theory: "these bones are the whole house of Israel" (not merely one particular portion thereof; compare the expression "my people" in vers 12—13), "behold they say our bones are dried, and our hope is lost, we are cast off." The words "they say," point to such as were still alive in the ordinary sense of the word, and the drying of the bones is explained as indicative of the hopelessness of their condition.

Grotius, in his usual shallow style, gives it as his opinion, that the prophet is merely speaking of a *mors civilis* and *vita civilis*. This is *a priori* inconceivable. The essence and heart of the suffering would then be altogether disregarded in the consolation administered. The fact, that Israel was no longer a nation, was the cause of sorrow to those, who were everywhere the sole objects of the prophet's consolation, simply because they saw in this a positive proof, that Israel was no longer a covenant-nation, and God no longer in the midst of it. And we should hardly expect that a prophet, who always lays such emphasis upon the inward and spiritual restoration,—the transformation of the heart of stone into a heart of flesh,—and merely regards the outward restoration as an accident and reflection of the inward, would so far forget his vocation in this instance, as to assume the character of an ordinary patriot. Moreover the very opposite may be proved from the section itself. In the explanation of the vision in vers. 12—14 a twofold distinction is made, so far as the restoration is concerned. We have, *first*, the restoration to Canaan, and, in general, the re-establishment of civil order, the outward *restitutio in integrum*, which is represented by the opening of the graves, the coming together of the dry bones, and their being clothed with flesh and skin. Thus what were bones before are changed into corpses, in which as yet there is no living spirit. There is, *secondly*, the quickening of these spiritual corpses by the Spirit of God, for which all that had occurred before had merely served as a preparation; whilst, in themselves considered, these preliminary acts had been of little moment, and were not proper objects of prophetical announcement. This second feature is symbolically represented by the impartation of life in its ordinary sense; and, as the nature of the vision required that everything should be brought within reach of the senses, the medium, by which this is effected, is the breathing of the wind,[1] the natural symbol of both the

[1] The author adheres to his opinion that רוּחַ in ver. 9 means the wind and not the spirit. He cannot make up his mind to translate the passage, "come thou spirit," instead of "come from the four winds thou wind and blow upon the slain." The fact that the word means "spirit," both before and afterwards, cannot decide the question, because the spirit is really referred to in this passage as well. *Hitzig's* objection, that such a wind as this could never put life into a dead man, has no force whatever, since there is no real difference between the wind spoken of and the spirit.

lower and higher spirit of life, as was universally admitted among all nations and in every language of the ancient world. The Saviour breathes upon the disciples, as a sign of the gift of the Spirit; and on the day of Pentecost "suddenly there came a sound from heaven as of a rushing mighty wind," Acts ii. 2. There is evidently an allusion here to the passage before us, which is essentially connected with the event referred to; see also John iii. 8. *Ewald* is quite correct in his remark that "there is the less room to understand the words 'I put my spirit within you and ye live,' as meaning something different from renewal by the Holy Spirit, from the fact that the prophet has so clearly and emphatically spoken of the latter but a short time before (chap. xxxvi. 26, 27)." Again, it is evident from ver. 14 that the order, in which the outward restoration and the quickening by the Spirit are mentioned, merely belongs to the form of representation, and serves to indicate their relative importance; for in the passage referred to the order is reversed. Hence, from the nature of the life imparted, we may draw our conclusions as to the nature of the death. The captivity of the people, and the destruction of Jerusalem and the temple, did not constitute death; they were merely the signs of death, the decomposition of the corpse. The body had already become a corpse. The vital principle of Israel, as the people of God, was the Spirit of God. This spirit still dwelt in individuals; but the attention of the prophet is not directed to individuals now. He fixes his eye upon the congregation of the Lord, as a whole. In this nothing but spiritual death presented itself to the view of the prophet and his fellow mourners; and the question put to him by the Lord in ver. 3, "Son of man, can these bones live," coupled with the prophet's answer, "O Lord God, thou knowest," indicate the fact, that it was altogether beyond the bounds of human probability, that his death should give place to life, because that human means would be of no avail, and it was impossible for a heart of stone to change itself by its own strength into a heart of flesh. Before God promises life, therefore, through the mouth of the prophet, the latter has first of all to declare, that he knows nothing of this life, that it is beyond the natural order of events. From what we have said it is evident, that the whole section is Messianic; that the fulfilment of the promise it

contains is only to be looked for in Christ, and in the gift of the Holy Ghost bestowed through him; and that this fulfilment is still going on, being seen wherever death gives place to life in his church, and will go on till its final completion, when death is swallowed up in victory.

The second part commences with a symbolical action.—It matters not whether it occurred outwardly, or merely inwardly. Most likely, however, the latter, judging from analogy and the fact that, with Ezekiel, the inward greatly predominates. The prophet, representing the Lord, takes two pieces of wood,—sticks not tables, as we may see from Num. xvii. 17—18, from which the form of this symbolical transaction was derived. On the one he writes the name of Judah and his companions, that is, of those sections of Israel which had consorted with him, viz. part of Benjamin, Levi, Simeon, and the pious, who had come over at different times from the kingdom of the ten tribes to the kingdom of Judah. On the other he wrote the name of Ephraim, with the rest of those who had associated with this ruling tribe, so as to form one kingdom. These two sticks he then presses firmly together in his hand, as a symbol of the grace of God, which would at some future period effect a union of the kingdoms, that had long ago been divided on account of the sins of the people. The explanation in ver. 21—28 goes in some respects beyond the symbol. It is not restricted to the fact of the future union; but describes the attendant circumstances and blessed results, and points to the person of the great king, who is to bring this union to pass, and to bestow blessings upon both. This is quite natural; for the fact itself first attains its full significance in this connexion. The union of the two into one national brotherhood could only be set forth, as the result, or as necessary part of a renewal of their whole condition.

Ver. 22. "*And I make them one nation on the mountains of Israel, and a king will be king to them all, and they will be no more two nations, neither will they be divided into two kingdoms any more* (cf. xxxiv. 23). Ver. 23. *And they will no more defile themselves by their abominations and their detestable things, and by all their transgressions, and I save them out of all their dwelling-places, wherein they have sinned, and cleanse them, and they become my people and I become their God.*"

Deliverance from the dwelling-place is not effected locally but spiritually, by the removal of every trace of sin, first from their hearts, and then from their immediate neighbourhood. Thus the land is changed by the power of the Lord into another land, from a sinful land into a holy one; just as it had previously been changed by the guilt of the people from a holy into a sinful one.

Ver. 24. "*And my servant David is king over them, and there will be one shepherd to them all, and they shall walk in my righteous judgments, and keep my righteous judgments and do them.*"

The promise of *one* king, contained in ver. 22, is here more closely defined. It is the great king of the tribe of David; and therefore all the glorious promises, made to David and in him to the kingdom of God, are revived again.

Ver. 25. "*And they dwell in the land, which I gave to my servant Jacob, wherein your fathers dwelt, and there dwell therein they and their sons and their sons' sons for ever, and David, my servant, is prince to them for ever.*"

That the first לעולם (for ever) is to be taken in the strict sense of the word is evident from the second; compare the note on Jer. xxiii. 3.

Ver. 26. "*And I make with them a covenant of peace, an everlasting covenant will exist with them, and I give them and multiply them, and place my sanctuary in the midst of them for ever.*"

The expression "I give them and multiply them" is correctly explained by *Venema* to mean: *dabo eos multiplicatos.* There is an allusion to the promise made to Abraham, Gen. xvii. 6. That the prophet does not employ the term "sanctuary" with reference to an outward building, as such, but that the presence of the Lord in the midst of his people is regarded by him, as involving all that is essential to the idea of a sanctuary, is evident from chap. xi. 16.

Ver. 27. "*And my tabernacle is over them* (see the remarks on Ps. lxviii. 30), *and I become their God and they become my people.*"

There is an allusion here to Ex. xxv. 8: "And they make make me a sanctuary *(mikdash)* and I dwell among them;" compare Lev. xxvi. 11. This promise, according to the pro-

phet's explanation, still points to the future for its complete fulfilment; not till then will God be truly in the midst of his people, and the difference between heaven and earth come to an end. In the destruction of the temple, therefore, there is no ground for hopeless lamentation. The true fulfilment, of which the rebuilding of the outward temple was merely the prelude, is correctly explained by *Vitringa* (Observv. i. 4, p. 161), as consisting in the "dwelling of God in the midst of the people through the Son and Holy Spirit." Compare John i. 14, where the expression ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν represents the λόγος made flesh as the true מִשְׁכָּן of God, with evident reference to the same passage of Exodus, which the prophet had before his eyes. Compare also Rev. xxi. 3 and 1 Cor. iii. 16, vi. 19, where believers are called the temple of God because the spirit of Christ dwells in them; and my remarks on the temple as the symbol of the kingdom of God in the dissertations on the Pentateuch (vol. ii. p. 514, sqq. transl.).

Ver. 28. "*And the heathen perceive, that I Jehovah sanctify Israel, since my sanctuary is among them for ever.*"

To sanctify means to put an end to the connexion, not only with sin, but also with the evils to which it leads. In the present instance the latter are referred to, as these alone would be likely to attract the attention of the heathen. At the same time the former is presupposed as an indispensable prerequisite. There is an allusion to the promises contained in the Pentateuch, with reference to the sanctification of Israel; compare, for example, Lev. xx. 8, xxi. 23, xxii. 31—33. Hitherto these had been but partially fulfilled, because Israel through its sin had failed to sanctify God, and therefore could not be treated as a sanctified people. We may see how closely these two were connected together by referring to Lev. xxii. 32: "and ye shall not profane my holy name, and I will be sanctified in the midst of the children of Israel, I, the Lord, who sanctify you." In future, however, God himself will take care, that the required conditions shall not be wanting, through the richer bestowment of the forgiveness of sins, and a more abundant outpouring of the Spirit; and therefore the consequences will fully and surely ensue.

THE NEW TEMPLE.

(Chap. xl.—xlviii.)

Fourteen years after the conquest of Jerusalem and the destruction of the temple, Ezekiel beheld, in a vision, the restoration and glory of the kingdom of God, set forth under the image of the rebuilding of the temple. According to Böttcher (Proben alt-testamenlicher Schrifterklärung p. 232) the temple of Ezekiel was intended "as an ideal representation of a temple, based upon historical grounds, and drawn up partly from memory and partly from imagination, which was to serve as a design for the rebuilding of the sanctuary, when the people returned from their exile." The same view is adopted by *Hitzig* and *Thenius* in the appendix to the commentary on the books of Kings.

But very weighty objections may be offered to so literal an interpretation.

Böttcher himself unconsciously argues against his own theory, when he says: "It is not a Phoenician architect, nor a historian following historical records, but a priest's son and a *prophet*—who represents his design for the temple as seen in a *vision*, and that not for builders or for an architect, but for "the whole house of Israel," (chap. xl. 4, xliii. 10 sqq.).

To give directions for building the temple formed no part of a prophet's vocation. The duties of a prophet had no connexion whatever with legislation. So far as the time being was concerned, they adhered strictly to the law of Moses. Their task was to bridge over the space, which separated that law from the hearts of the people. And with reference to the future, their work was simply to prophesy; whilst there is not a single example in the whole range of prophecy of anything analogous to this vision of Ezekiel, as it is interpreted by *Böttcher*. Moreover such an interpretation removes this vision entirely away from any connexion with the general series of Ezekiel's prophecies, subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem. These prophecies are strictly confined to prophetic ground. There is nothing legislative or hortatory in their character. Everything from chap. xxxiii.

onwards, centres in one object, namely, to ward off despair from the people of God, by pointing to a future period, richly laden with mercy and salvation. And we naturally expect that this design, which runs through the whole of the second part, will be brought to a climax at the end of the book.

"The symbolical interpretation is favoured, as *Hävernick* justly observes, by the form employed,—that of a vision,—the essential characteristic of which is to set forth ideas in a concrete and tangible shape." In the whole of the Old Testament there is not a single vision to be found, in which the form and the idea conveyed coincide so completely, as would be the case here, if the literal interpretation were correct, and none in which there would be so little room for theological exposition. Yet the book of Ezekiel is the last book, in which we should expect to find a vision of such a description; so impenetrable, in general, is the covering of drapery under which the thought is concealed. It is of especial importance here to compare the vision in chap. viii.—xi., in which the destruction of the city is set forth; since the prophet himself, in chap. xliii. 3, describes the present vision as the counterpart of the other. In the latter, however, as we have already shown, a literal exposition is inadmissible, and a distinction must always be made between the thought itself, and the drapery in which it is clothed.

The preconceived antipathy to a literal exposition, with which we approach this section, is confirmed on further investigation. The whole section exhibits a series of phenomena, which are absolutely irreconcileable with such an interpretation.

The very commencement should suffice to put us on our guard against it. It takes us altogether away from the sphere of ordinary actions. "He set me"—we read in chap. xl. 2—"upon a mountain very high, upon which there was as the building of a city towards mid-day." It is very evident, that we have here a representation of the future glory of the kingdom of God, under the figure of an exaltation of the insignificant temple-hill, similar to that which we have already found in Isaiah. (*Michaelis* says, "such as Isaiah had predicted that Mount Zion would become, not physically, but by eminence derived from dignity and the glory of the gospel"). In chap. xvii. 22, 23, reference has already been made to a high and lofty mountain, in connexion with the

future glory of the kingdom of God. Zion, which looked very high even in Old Testament times, when contemplated with the eye of the spirit (Ps. xlviii. 3, 4, lxviii. 17), will rise in the future to an immeasurable height. If any doubt could possibly remain, with reference to the ideal character of this particular feature, and consequently of the whole picture, it would be removed by Rev. xxi. 10, "And he brought me in the Spirit to a mountain great and high, and showed me the city, the holy Jerusalem, descending out of heaven from God."

The ideal character of the whole is also confirmed by the dimensions of the new temple, given in chap. xlii. 15 sqq., where it has been found necessary to alter the rods, so expressly mentioned, into cubits (*Böttcher*, *Ewald*, *Hitzig*, *Thenius*), for the purpose of getting rid of the ideal interpretation and carrying out the literal one.

The description of the entrance of the glory of the Lord into the new temple in chap. xliii. 1 sqq. shows how inadequate the literal explanation really is. It is all the less allowable to abide by the letter in the present instance, since in that case we should be obliged to assume, even on the ground of chap. xi. 22, 23, that on the occasion of the Chaldean destruction the Shechinah departed from the temple in a visible shape; especially as there is an express allusion to this in ver. 4. The simple thought is evidently the following, the presence of the Lord in the midst of his people will be manifested at a future period with a glory unknown before; and this was perfectly fulfilled in Christ. This passage, again, completely refutes the assertion made by *Dathe*, "that the prophet is not giving promises, but directions as to the plan on which the new temple is to be built." We have here an occurrence, which the Israelites could not in any way help to promote, and therefore may use it as a clue, with which to discover in all the rest the simple promise, that lies hidden in the labyrinth of measurements, which distinguishes the vision.

The section, chap. xlvii. 1—12 is a transparent allegory, and the attempts at a literal exposition are so evidently without force, that they are utterly unworthy of any close investigation.

The literal explanation founders on the new division of the land among the tribes, which is described as being perfectly equal

nd altogether regardless of the circumstances of actual life; and lso on chap. xlvii. 22, 23, where foreigners are said to be placed n the same footing as the children of Israel in relation to this livision. The thought may easily be discerned through the ransparent covering: "The difference between Jew and Gentile, vhich existed under the Old Testament, is completely done away." *(Michaelis.)*

Thus then the literal exposition is inadmissible. At the same ime it must be confessed that there are serious difficulties in the way of the allegorical or symbolical interpretation, which was a very favourite one in ancient times. It cannot be denied that there is a certain amount of truth in *Hitzig's* words, that "symbolical exposition can, in certain cases, only be carried out in a forced manner and without any proof whatever, in other cases not at all; and *Hävernick* ought to have given examples to prove the statement made in his commentary, that it is possible to carry it out in a manner at once perfect and beautiful." *Vitringa*[1] has fully proved, that the author goes far too minutely into architectural details, for an allegorical interpretation to be maintained throughout, however clear it may be, that in particular passages it is absolutely necessary. The measurements, for example, which extend to the breadth of the doors and the thickness of the walls, present an insuperable barrier to such an interpretation;—if we admit, that is, that in the department of biblical symbols it is never allowable to have recourse to fancies and guesses, but that the means of sober interpretation are always fully provided.

We will endeavour, then, to avoid the difficulties to which the two methods are exposed.

The tabernacle and Solomon's temple had both of them a symbolical character. They were symbols of the kingdom of God in Israel, as I have already shown in my dissertations on the Pentateuch, vol. ii. p. 516 sqq. This is evident from the name given to the tabernacle: tent of meeting, the place where God meets with his people, where he holds communion; and also from Lev. xvi. 16, where all the children of Israel are represented as dwelling in spirit with the Lord in his tent, which is regarded

[1] Aanleydinge tot het rechte verstant van den Tempel Ezech. Th. 2, p. 291 sqq., 302 sqq.

therefore as nothing less than an embodiment of the church.[1] In a whole series of passages in the Psalms, the tabernacle and temple are referred to, as the places where believers dwell in spirit with the Lord, and therefore as the representation and type of the church. Thus, *e g.*, in Ps. xxiii. 6, "I shall dwell in the house of the Lord for ever;" xxvii. 4: "one thing have I desired of the Lord, that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life;" and Ps. lxxxiv. 5, "blessed are they that dwell in thy house."[2] The Lord expresses the same idea when he says in Matth. xxiii. 38: "your house is left unto you empty." They are left *alone* in the temple, which is deprived of the presence of God. And Paul makes a similar comparison when he says in Eph. ii. 19 that believers are "the household of God," and in 1 Tim. iii. 15, "the house of God, which is the church of the living God," the church of the New Testament being here represented as the antitype of the

[1] "And he absolves the sanctuary from the impurities of the children of Israel and from their transgressions, all their sins, and this he does to the tent of meeting, which dwells with them, in the midst of their impurities." Because, spiritually considered, all the children of Israel dwell in the sanctuary, it is defiled by every sin *Bähr*, who denies that this passage has any bearing upon the question in hand, has only attended to the latter half: "God (he observes in his work on Solomon's temple, p. 85) dwelt in a tent in the midst of the people, but as every Israelite might be more or less Levitically impure and yet come into contact with the tent, and therefore as this might possibly (?) be defiled, it was to be cleansed once a year from their (the people's) uncleanness." The fact, however, that *transgressions* are mentioned, and that the expression "all their sins" follows immediately afterwards, is sufficient to show that such a view is untenable.

[2] It is hardly conceivable that in the face of these and other similar passages, *Bähr* (p. 86), should say: "there is just as little force in the other passages; for they say literally nothing about the main point, viz., that the nation, as such, dwelt with Jehovah, and like him dwelt in the temple." They do say this most clearly and the more emphatically because the house of the Lord generally denotes merely the true temple, namely, the holiest of all (the dwelling-place of the Lord), and the holy place (the dwelling-place of the people). When *Bähr* afterwards adds: "no Israelite would ever have thought of a pious man or the whole nation, as inhabiting the temple along with Jehovah, and living, as it were, under the same roof with him; such an expression would have been looked upon as a species of blasphemy;" this is only so far true, that the Israelites would certainly never have entertained the idea of living on an equality with God, the Holy one, who is absolutely exalted above all created objects. The members of the congregation dwelt with God, not by right, but through grace. He was the householder; they the dependents or guests. Their dwelling with God was but a visit. This is expressly stated in Ps. xv. 1, for גּוּר never means to dwell in the ordinary sense of the word, but to stay as a guest or stranger.

temple under the Old. Compare 2 Cor. vi. 16, and 1 Cor. iii. 17: "if any man defile the temple of God, &c., which temple ye are," with Jer. vii. 4, where the unbelieving covenant-nation is blamed for assuming to itself the prerogative of the believer, to be the temple of the Lord. Israel, then, with the Lord dwelling in the midst of it, is the true temple of the Lord. (Ex. xxv. 8). The outward temple was only a symbol and shadow of this spiritual temple.

If, then, it is absolutely certain, that the temple was the symbol of the kingdom of God in Israel, and a type of the church, it must be evident at once, that in a vision, the essential characteristic of which is to embody ideas in a concrete form, the restoration of the kingdom of God could not possibly be represented in a more appropriate manner, than under the image of a restored and glorified temple.

But it is not merely with reference to the leading idea, that the description of the new temple is transparent in its character. In a considerable number of details, which we have already noticed, such, for example, as the raising of the temple hill, and the fountain which issued from the sanctuary, the symbolical meaning is unmistakeable.

The analogy of the material temple, in connexion with which the attempt to spiritualise every minute detail has invariably failed, would lead us to expect in this case other particulars, which can only be regarded as the filling up of the picture. Even *Bähr* has gone too far in this respect. In the case of Ezekiel, the reason, for describing so minutely the details of the building, was *to give a forcible proof of the prophet's firm belief in the continued existence of the kingdom of God.* So long as the church lay prostrate and the sanctuary was in ruins, this ideal temple of Ezekiel was to serve as a support to the weak faith of the nation, and take the place of the fallen sanctuary.

It was very natural that Ezekiel's temple should correspond in many respects to the temple of Solomon, since the latter furnished the most appropriate *substratum* for the purely ideal picture drawn by the prophet.

The temple of Zerubbabel was so far related to that of Ezekiel, that the leading idea contained in the description of the latter,

viz., the indestructible nature of the kingdom of God, was realized in the former, so far as it was possible that it should be, until the time arrived when the foreshadowing of spiritual things by means of the temple, which was an essential characteristic of the Old Testament, was rendered obsolete by Christ and his church. It is very evident, however, that the connection between the temple of Ezekiel and that of Zerubbabel is entirely of a spiritual character, and is not to be looked for in material details, from the simple fact, as *Hävernick* has already observed, "that the second temple was not erected according to Ezekiel's design, and that the other directions given by him were not carried out in any respect whatever." As Ezekiel was invested with the authority of a messenger from God, we may infer from this, that the ideal character of his vision was fully understood, and that the Israelites perceived that it was not with an architect that they had to do, but with a prophet, whose mission concerned not the hands, but the heart, which he was sent to stir up to faith and hope.

The ideal character of Ezekiel's description being thus firmly established, we must acquire the habit of distinguishing generally between the prophet's leading thoughts, and the drapery in which they are clothed. It has often been brought as a charge against the first principles of Christology, that they foster an excessive habit of spiritualising. Those who are disposed to bring such a charge as this, had better first try their own method of literal interpretation on these nine chapters of Ezekiel. They will never be able to carry it out, unless they come to the extremely doubtful conclusion, that the Christian Church is eventually to return to the beggarly elements of Judaism; and this they cannot do if they act conscientiously as expositors, since such passages as chap. xlvii. 1—12 are decidedly at variance with any literal interpretation. It must be conceded here, that we have no right to appeal to the letter of the Old Testament in support of such theories as the return of the Jews to Canaan, a practice which is the more indefensible, as the New Testament is altogether silent on the subject of any such return.

THE SECTION.—CHAP. XLVII. 1—12.

The whole account of the new temple in its leading features is of a Messianic character. Its fulfilment under the New Testament is constantly going on, and the future alone will witness its completion. In the passage before us, which contains one of the most remarkable prophecies in the Bible, the Messianic elements are brought to a climax.

The arrangement is very simple. We have first the description of the water issuing from the sanctuary (vers. 1—6), and the trees growing upon the banks (ver. 7), and secondly, the account of the end to be subserved by the water (vers. 8—11) and by the trees (ver. 12).

Ver. 1. "*And he led me back to the door of the house; and behold waters issued out under the threshold of the house towards the east, for the front of the house was towards the east, and the waters flowed down under the right side of the house to the south of the altar.*"

Water, which renders barren ground fertile, and yields a refreshing draught to the thirsty, is used in the Scriptures to represent divine blessings, especially salvation, which had already been set forth in paradise in the form of water; *cf.* Gen. xiii. 10. The figure is explained in Is. xii. 3: "with joy shall ye draw water out of the wells of *salvation*." Also in Is. xliv. 3, "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground, I will pour out my spirit upon thy seed and my blessing upon thine offspring," where the *blessing* corresponds to the water, and the *spirit* is mentioned as the chief form in which the blessing is conveyed, the groundwork of all salvation to the people of God. The root of evil is sin. This must first of all be set aside by the Spirit of God. In the book of Revelation (chap. xxii. 1), where the idea contained in this passage is resumed in the words, "and he showed me a pure river of the water *of life*," *i.e.*, of salvation or blessedness, the nature of the water is expressly pointed out. This is not the writer's own explanation, however, but is obtained from a combination of ver. 1 and ver. 9 of the chapter before us, in the latter of which the

effect of the water is plainly described as *life*. *Here* the water appears first as a fountain, it is not till ver. 5 that it assumes the form of a stream. In the Revelation, on the other hand, it appears at once as a stream. The difference may be explained from the fact that John had only to do with the church of the last days. The fulness of life or of salvation, which will be possessed by the glorified church, is shown by the fact, that from the very first it issues forth as a river. Ezekiel carries out the intimation given by Joel (iii. 18), "and a fountain issues forth from the house of the Lord, and waters the valley of Acacias" (the symbol of human want; and *Zechariah* again alludes to Ezekiel in chap. xiv. 8). It is a question of comparatively trifling importance, whether the figure employed by the prophets was occasioned by the fact that there was a stream of water constantly flowing in the first temple. (See the remarks of *Thenius* on this subject in the appendix to his commentary on the Books of Kings, p. 19). The connexion is certainly not a very close one. There was no actual fountain in Solomon's temple, but the water was conveyed thither by subterraneous channels. Thus the natural water was brought to the spot for the service of the temple, and was not even conducted within the precincts of the actual temple, but only into the forecourt. The spiritual water, on the other hand, springs up in the temple itself, and flows on till it reaches the desert and the Dead Sea.[1]—In Ezekiel the water issues forth under the threshold of the house towards the east; according to the Revelation, the river of water proceeded out of the throne of God and of the Lamb. John has here completed the account in Ez. xlvii. 1, from chap. xliii. 7. *The house* in Ezekiel means the true temple, the holy place, and holy of holies. With reference to this we find in chap. xliii. 1—7: "and behold the glory of God came from the east, and his voice like the voice of many waters, and the earth shone with his glory. . . . And the glory of the Lord came into the house through the gate towards the east. . . . And behold the house was full of the glory of the Lord. And I heard one speak to me out of the house,

[1] *Steudel* is wrong when he says (Theol. des A. T. p. 491), "according to Ez. xlvii. 1 sqq a fountain sprang up on the eastern side of the temple, *which furnished it with the requisite supply of water*."

. . . and he said to me: Son of man, (thou seest) the place of *my throne* and the place of the soles of my feet, where I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel for ever." The fact, that the Lord enters with his glory into the sanctuary, explains the *reason* why henceforth the streams of salvation issue from it. From the temple now lying in ruins they never could issue, because it was never truly the place of God's throne. The sanctuary, that is the church, was first made the "habitation of the throne" of God by Him, in whom "dwelt all the fulness of the godhead bodily." Henceforth its name became "Jehovah is there," chap. xlviii. 35. And John points to the manner in which the announcement of the indwelling of the glory of God (in chap. xliii.) was fulfilled in Christ, when he speaks of the throne of God *and of the Lamb*.—The expression "for the front of the house was towards the east," presupposes that the water would necessarily flow from the front of the house.—The words "and the waters flowed down below the right side of the house, to the south of the altar," have been variously misinterpreted. The fact that the water is described as flowing *down* may be explained on the ground that the moral elevation of the sanctuary, the place, in which the Lord was enthroned, was necessarily represented as an outward fact for the purposes of the vision.[1] The right side always means the south. The water issued forth from the eastern gate of the house, in the strict sense of the term, and flowed *below* the house, not straight out, but downwards, and therefore through that part of the forecourt, which was under the southern side of the house, or through the south-eastern portion of the forecourt. The words "to the south of the altar" express the *reason*, why the water could not flow on in a straight line from the gate of the house to the outward eastern gate, but necessarily turned towards the south. The reason is purely a *local* one. Immediately in front of the eastern gate of the sanctuary stood the altar of burnt-offering, and thus prevented the water from taking a direct course; compare chap. xl. 47: "and the altar was before the house," "in the middle of the court, and in front of the steps leading to the temple." (*Sturm*).

[1] According to *Thenius*, p. 35, the actual building was raised above the inner court even in Solomon's temple.

Ver. 2. "*And he led me out by the way at the gate towards the north, and led me outside round to the outer gate, which looks to the east, and behold waters issued forth from the right side of the house.*"

The prophet, having seen the water at its source, was now to trace its onward course. For this purpose he had to leave the temple. As the direction taken by the water was towards the east, the proper gate to go out at would have been the eastern gate of the forecourt; but according to chap. xliv. 1, 2, the outer gate of the sanctuary was kept constantly shut, because the Lord had gone in by it, when he made his entrance into the temple. The prophet was therefore obliged to take a circuitous route, going out at the north gate, and then coming round to the east gate, when he was outside the temple wall. *And behold waters issued forth:* פכה has no connexion with בכה to weep, which might suggest the meaning to trickle. Moreover, such a meaning is quite unsuitable here, as the water must necessarily have been characterised by fulness and life, when it first issued from the spring. On the contrary it is allied to פך an oil-bottle; *Fuller* says פכה denotes the copiousness of the stream which issued forth like water flowing from a bottle." It is rendered in the *Septuagint* κατεφέρετο; in the *Vulgate*, redundantes. *From the right side of the house.* The prophet was on the eastern side at the east gate. He saw the water flowing away towards the east. The southern (? the right) side, therefore, can only be the south-eastern, in contrast with the south-western, and also with the gate which stood due east; compare 1 Kings vii. 39, where the brazen sea is said to have stood on the right side of the house eastward towards the south, in other words, "at the eastern end of the temple, but on the south side" *(Michaelis).*

Ver. 3. "*And the man went out towards the east and had the measure in his hand, and he measured a thousand cubits, and led me through the water, when it reached up to my ancles.* Ver. 4. *And he measured again a second time a thousand cubits, and led me through the water, when it went up to my knees. And he measured a thousand cubits more, and made me go through, and it reached up to my loins.* Ver. 5. *And he measured a thousand more, when it was a river, which I could not wade*

through, for the water was too deep, so that one was obliged to swim, a river, which could not be forded."

We have here a representation of the Messianic salvation, which, though at first comparatively insignificant, will continue to expand with ever increasing fulness and glory. Compare chap. xvii. 22, 23, where the Messiah appears as a tender twig, which afterwards grows to a large cedar; and the parables of the mustard seed in Matt. xiii. 31, 32, and the leaven in ver. 33, where *Bengel* correctly explains the three measures of meal as referring to the threefold division of the human race, alluded to in Gen. x. 1. *I could not cross it* (ver. 5); judging from the analogy of ver. 3, 4, the prophet learned this by actual experiment, that is, by going in up to his neck (Is. viii. 8). If this had not been the case, the farther remark "which cannot be forded" would be superfluous. In ver. 6 the prophet is led back to the brink of the river.

Ver. 6. "*And he said to me, Son of man, seest thou? And he bade me go, and brought me back to the brink of the stream.*"

The words "seest thou" contain an allusion to the great importance of the fact just mentioned, and intimates that it was well worth seeing. Compare chap. xl. 4. The Berleburgher Bible says: "hast thou seen to what a blessed state the earth will be brought by the outflowing of the spirit and the plenteous rivers of grace." These words form a conclusion, and also a connecting link with what follows.

Ver. 7. "*When I returned, behold on the bank of the river there were very many trees on the one side and on the other.*"

The need of salvation is represented as hungering as well as thirsting; and, accordingly, life or salvation is represented here under the image of fruit, just as it had been before under that of water. Compare Is. lv. 1, 2, where bread for the hungry is mentioned, as well as water for the thirsty. The trees themselves have no particular meaning. Their importance is derived exclusively from the fruit they bear.

Ver. 8. "*And he said to me: these waters go forth to the east country, and flow down to the heath, and come to the sea; to the sea* (come) *those that are brought out, and thus the waters are healed.*"

As גְּלִילָה frequently occurs in the sense of circle, or district, there is no reason whatever for following the *Septuagint*, in which it is rendered Galilee (a district much too far to the north), and thus connecting it with Is. viii. 23, where Galilee is mentioned as partaking in an especial manner of the Messianic salvation. The fact that the heath, that is, the Arabah or Valley of the Jordan, is mentioned before the sea, must possess some theological importance. For nothing else could possibly have induced the prophet to pass by the valley of the Kedron, which was so admirably adapted to his purpose and opens immediately into the Dead Sea, and to conduct the waters by a physically impossible course, viz., over the heights which separate Jerusalem from the low-ground on the banks of the Jordan. What this theological meaning is we may gather from the primary passage in Joel, where the valley of Acacias (Shittim) corresponds to the Arabah here, and from Is. xxxv. 6, "in the desert shall waters break out and streams in the heath," where the Arabah is parallel to the *desert*. As the water has already been described as taking its course to the *east* country, the portion of the Arabah referred to here can only be the southern extremity immediately above the point at which the Jordan flows into the Dead Sea. But just at that point the Arabah assumes the character of a cheerless desert, *cf. v. Raumer* p. 52: "At the northern extremity of the Dead Sea there is a desert, which stretches upwards along the western side of the plain of the Jordan to a point above Jericho.—*Monro* says that the plain along the lower Jordan and Dead Sea from the mountains of Judah till you go down to Jericho bears the aspect of extreme desolation."—*Ritter* again (Erdk. 15, 1, p. 552) says: "Farther south (from the ford of Helu) to the northern extremity of the Dead Sea every trace of vegetation disappears, with the exception of a few marine plants; the undulating ground and clayey soil give place to a perfectly horizontal plain intersected by rocky masses of sand and clay." In the Bible the desert represents a lost condition, and therefore is an appropriate emblem of a world estranged from God and shut out of his kingdom. There can hardly be any necessity to prove, that the sea referred to is the Dead Sea, and not the Mediterranean. All that precedes points to the east, viz.: ver. 1 and 2, in which the water

is described as issuing from the eastern side of the temple; ver. 3, where the man, who follows the course of the stream, is said to go towards the east; then the east country, and lastly the Arabah in the verse before us. The Dead Sea is also called the eastern sea in chap. xlvii. 18 קדמני (compare קדמונה in the present verse). The connexion between the sea and the Arabah also favours the supposition that the Dead Sea is intended, as the sea referred to must have been in the neighbourhood of the Arabah (the Dead Sea is expressly called the Sea of the Arabah in Deut. iii. 17 and iv. 49; see the history of *Balaam*, p. 520 translation); its nature must also have corresponded to that of the Arabah, or it could not have had the same symbolical importance. Lastly, what is said about the healing of the waters leads to precisely the came conclusion. This presupposes that the water of the sea was naturally in a *diseased* state, a description which is applicable to the Dead Sea alone; compare *Pliny* hist. nat., v. 15, where he says with reference to the Jordan: *velut invitus Asphaltiten lacum dirum natura petit, a quo postremo ebibitur aquasque laudatas amittit pestilentialibus mixtas.* There can be no doubt as to the symbolical significance of the Dead Sea in this passage of Ezekiel. The description given by *Tacitus* hist. v. c. 6, "lacus immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer, neque vento impellitur neque pisces aut suetas aquis volucres pascitur,"[1] was quoted by earlier commentators in connexion with the words of John, "the whole world lieth in

[1] Compare with this the description given by *Ritter*, in the first edition of his Erdkunde (the second does not enter so much into details): "This lake is unlike any other lake in the world. The outward appearance of this body of water and its mathematical dimensions constitute the only reason why it is classed along with the rest; for in its nature it is entirely different It has none of the charms, which render the Alpine lakes, for example, and so many others, points of attraction; it lacks the constant motion, the solvent power, and all the other qualities which give such variety to the atmosphere of other lakes, and thus impart increased activity not only to the animal and vegetable world, but also to man, facilitating reciprocal action in a manner unknown elsewhere, and promoting alike the life of nature and the intercourse of mankind. The water of this lake is unfit for both man and beast, it nourishes neither plants nor animals; its banks are entirely destitute of verdure, and not even a reed is to be found in the lake itself. The atmosphere of the lake has nothing of the sweetness and coolness, which is generally imparted by water, and throughout the whole of the surrounding plain there is not a single spot cultivated, or inhabited by peaceable men, where once the whole was a garden, like the land of Egypt."

wickedness," 1 John v. 19. The Dead Sea was all the better fitted to be used as a symbol of the corrupt world, since it was in a judgment on the corrupt world that it originated, and with the eye of the mind the image of Sodom and Gomorrha could still be seen beneath the waves. The words, " to the sea," which are repeated, serve to introduce the explanation, that follows, of the meaning and design. Hitherto the whole account has been purely geographical. The way is prepared for this explanation of the purport of the symbol by the words " those that are brought out," which point to the higher power, that carries out the whole counsel of salvation according to His predetermined plan.[1] The spiritual waters effect in the Dead Sea of the world, what the natural waters are incapable of effecting in the so-called Dead Sea, (compare *Pliny* ut supra). In the case of the latter, the healthy waters are corrupted by the diseased; in that of the former, the diseased are cured by the healthy; *(cf.* 2 Kings ii. 21, 22). The diseased water of the sea of the world indicates the corrupt state, into which it has fallen through its apostasy from God, of whom it is said in Ps. xxxvi.: " with thee is the fountain of life, and in thy light we see light."

Ver. 9. " *And it cometh to pass, every living thing, with which every place will swarm, whither the double river shall come, will live, and there will be very many fishes for these waters come thither and they are healed, and everything liveth, whithersoever the brook cometh.*"

The words " and it cometh to pass" direct attention to the remarkable change which takes place. The first visible effect produced by the fountain from the sanctuary is new life. There is an allusion here to the natural character of the Dead Sea, which is inimical to life of every kind. " According to the testimony of all antiquity," says *Robinson*, 2 p. 461, and of most modern travellers, " there is not a single living thing in the waters of the Dead Sea—not even a trace of animal or vegetable life. Our own experience, so far as we had an opportunity of observing, goes to confirm the truth of this testimony. We perceived

[1] *Neumann* (die Wasser des Lebens, p. 34) says: " It is not by following its natural course, that the brook flows to the sea, it is conducted thither from the temple by a superior hand, and under this guidance the waters of the sea are healed."

no sign of life in the water." It is just the same in the antitype of the Dead Sea, the world. All that bears the name of life is really dead, destitute of happiness and salvation. "Living beings," which are anything more than walking corpses, are only to be found there, after the water from the sanctuary has overcome the elements which are destructive of life. The expression "will live" shows that the reference here is to "living beings," not in the lowest sense, but in the fullest sense of the word. The *double river* means the strong river, just as in Jer. l. 21 *Merathaim* "the double fall," and Judg. iii. 8, *Kushan-Rishathaim* "of the double wickedness," for "of the great wickedness," Kushan alone being the proper name, and Rishathaim a prefix like Evil in Evil-merodach. In a certain sense a *double water* has already been spoken of, viz., the fountain as it first issued from the sanctuary, and the addition which it afterwards received. It was not till after it had received this increase, that it effected the remarkable change in the Dead Sea, which is here described.—"*And there will be very many fishes.*" The sea in the Scriptures is the symbol of the world. Accordingly men are represented by the living creatures in the sea, and especially by the fishes; see my commentary on Rev. viii. 9. In the Dead Sea of the world there had hitherto been only dead fishes, which are not reckoned as fishes at all, *i.e.*, only carnal and godless men. This verse and the following form the basis of Peter's miraculous draught of fishes before the resurrection (Luke v.), which the Lord explained in the words, "from henceforth thou shalt catch *men*" (ver. 10). The same may be said of Peter's miraculous draught after the resurrection (John xxi.), and of the parable of the net cast into the sea, in which fish of every kind were caught. *And they are healed;* viz., the waters spoken of in ver. 8. *And everything lives, &c.:* "it will not perish like those fishes, which are cast into the Dead Sea" *(Grotius).*

Ver. 10. "*And it comes to pass, fishermen will stand by it from Engedi to Eneglaim, they will spread their nets there; their fish will be of every kind, like the fish of the great sea, very many of them.*"

The meaning of the *fish* being once established, there can be no doubt as to that of the *fishermen.* If the fishes represent men, who are made alive by means of the Messianic salvation,

the fishermen must be the heralds of this salvation, who gather those that are made alive into the kingdom of God, and introduce them to the fellowship of the church. The Saviour alludes to this passage, when he says in Matt. iv. 18, 19, to Peter and Andrew: "I will make you fishers of men;" and in John xxi. 1—14 the apostles appear as fishermen.—The two places named are probably classed together, because each of them derived its name from a fountain. Engedi was some distance towards the south. As the intention is evidently to include a long strip of coast, the opinion of *Jerome* is a very plausible one, that Eneglaim was situated at the northern extremity of the sea, near the point at which the Jordan enters it. *Neumann* is wrong in supposing that the nominative to יהיו (they will be) is the fishermen. He explains the clause thus: "they will be a spreading of nets, they will devote themselves entirely to this, will do nothing else and have nothing else to do, than to spread nets." The verb, however, is governed by the places between Engedi and Eneglaim, where hitherto no nets had been spread, and which are regarded as symbols of the abundance of fish. For משטח חרמים in chap. xxvi. 5, 14, is decisive in favour of the meaning, "place of spreading," and proves that allusion is made to the practice of spreading out the nets after the fish has been caught, —spreading as distinguished from throwing. למינה points back to Gen. i. 21, (which had already been alluded to in ver. 9, "all the living things, with which it swarmed"): "and God created the great dragons and all the living things, which move, wherewith the waters swarm according to their kinds." In the Dead Sea of the world there comes forth a joyful swarm of those who have been made partakers of life from God, just like the swarms of ordinary fishes, which filled the natural sea at the first creation.

Ver. 11. "*Its sloughs and its pools, they are not healed, they are given up to salt.*"

Here also we find an allusion to the natural constitution of the Dead Sea. The water-mark varies at different seasons of the year. As the water falls, pools and salt-marshes appear here and there, which have no longer any connexion with the lake itself. *Robinson* observes (Part 2, p. 459), that the Dead Sea must sometimes stand ten or fifteen feet higher than

id when he saw it (viz., in May), and that when it is full it rflows a salt marsh at its southern extremity of five miles broad. the pools left by the Dead Sea, *Robinson* says (p. 434): "The ;est and most important of these is situated to the south of spot which bears the name of Birket el-Kulil. This is a ıll bay, a cleft in the western rocks, where the water, when it ıigh, flows into the shallow basin, and then evaporates, leaving y salt behind." In the Dead Sea of the world the pools and rshes were also originally exactly like the sea itself, the only 'erence is that they have shut themselves off from the healing ters, which flow from the sanctuary and thus confirm themres in their original corruption. In substance, the same thought :xpressed in the words, "there is no peace, saith my God, to wicked," in which Isaiah declares that the wicked are excluded m participating in the glorious promises, which he has just ore described, chap. xlviii. 22, and lvii. 21; compare chap. i. 24, and the threat in Jer. xxx. 23, 24. In Rev. xx. 10, "lake of fire" corresponds to the sloughs and pools mentioned e. The *salt* is not introduced in this passage, as it frequently as an antiseptic, but as a foe to all fertility, life, and prosperity; ıs *Pliny* says (h. n. L. 31, C. 7): *omnis locus, in quo reperitur , sterilis est, nihilque gignit*, compare Deut. xxix. 21; Jer. i. 6; Zeph. ii. 9; Ps. cvii. 34. We must not imagine the ter gradually evaporating and leaving salt behind; but the ıtinued power of the salt is contrasted with that deliverance m its corrosive influence, which would have been effected by waters from the sanctuary, if they had been allowed to reach pools: the waters remain given up to the salt. We may see r far a false habit of literal interpretation may go astray in ling with such passages as this, from the remark of *Hitzig*: 'he sloughs are of some use therefore; for the new theocracy) stood in need of salt, material salt."

Ver. 12. "*And by the river there will grow, on the bank reof, on this side and on that side, all fruitful trees, their ves will not wither and their fruits will not rot, every month y ripen, for their water cometh from the sanctuary, and their it serves for food and their leaves for medicine.*"

The fact that the trees produce fresh fruit every month, is an ication of the uninterrupted enjoyment of the blessings of

salvation. On the words "for their water" &c. *Hitzig* observes: "the reason is evident, namely, because this stream flows directly and immediately from the dwelling place of Him, who is the author of all life and fruitfulness." For the heathen world, so grievously diseased, it was especially necessary that salvation should be manifested in the form of *gratia medicinalis*. Hence not only are there nutritious fruits but healing leaves. It is very evident that תרופה (*Sept.* ὑγίεια, Rev. xxii. 2, "and the leaves of the tree were for the healing of the nations") is derived from רוף = רפא, to heal; and the certainty of this is increased by the fact that רפה, which is closely allied to רוף, is frequently used in the place of רפא.

DANIEL.

not a mere accident, that in the Hebrew canon Daniel is ɔed among the *prophets*. He did not fill the office of a among his own people like Isaiah, Jeremiah, and , but from his youth upwards till he was very old he held hest posts in a heathen state.

el passed through several political catastrophes. At the hment of the Chaldean empire he was torn from his and. He not only outlived the fall of that empire, but nmissioned to announce it as the herald of God; *cf.* chap. d in the new Medo-Persian empire he witnessed the of the government from the Medes to the Persians.

peculiar circumstances, in which Daniel was placed, are l upon his prophecies. He might be called the politician the prophets. "All the earlier prophets"—says *G. Menken*, narchieenbild Ed. 2, Bremen 41—"had foretold the uni- ɔrevalence and dominion of the theocracy at the time of l consummation, but to none of them had it ever been l so distinctly as to Daniel, through what long intervening the promise would be drawn out, before the time of ful- arrived, or how the nation and kingdom of God would ıto contact with three successive empires like the Chaldæo- ıian, before it subdued all the kingdoms of the world and ıe earth as the universal theocracy."

fulness and distinctness of Daniel's political prophecies, ɔ extensive periods which they embrace, are in themselves that the course of Old Testament prophecy is drawing to

His predictions, like those of Zechariah from another f view, have all the marks of a conclusion about them.

In this respect they are essentially different from those of a Jeremiah, for example, which only cover a short space of time, and have throughout the character of a connecting link. Daniel, on the contrary, had to conduct the church through long ages of endurance, in which the voice of living prophets would no more be heard.

The especial object of Daniel's prophetic mission was twofold. First of all, he was to afford support and comfort to the covenant people during a fierce religious persecution, to which they would be exposed from a heathen tyrant, Antiochus Epiphanes;—a persecution whose severity would be increased by the fact that it occurred at a time, when the extraordinary communications from God had altogether ceased. This object is effected by the prophecies in chap. viii. and chaps. x.—xii.,—the most minute and literal of all the prophecies in the sacred Scriptures,—in which everything shows, that they were intended to take the place of that direct interposition on the part of God, which was withheld from the age referred to. *Secondly*, Daniel had to revive the faith of his nation in *Christ* and his kingdom, and to warn the people against impatience, by impressing deeply upon their minds the words of Habakkuk (ii. 3,) "though it [the prophecy] tarry, wait for it, it will surely come, it will not tarry." For century after century the changes in the kingdoms of the world would bring nothing but a change of masters to Israel,—the nation which, at its very first commencement, had been designated "a kingdom of priests," called to universal supremacy on account of its inward connexion with God. To counteract the offence, which this was sure to cause, was one important design of prophecy. Let empire follow upon empire, and the world continue for ages to triumph and exalt itself; in the end comes Christ, and with him the world-wide dominion of the people of God. But let not the hope be abused so as to give support to false security. This is strongly urged by Daniel, after the example of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and in harmony with his immediate successors Zechariah and Malachi. The anointed one confirms the covenant with many, comes with forgiveness, righteousness, salvation, and brings the whole world into subjection to the kingdom of God; but his appearance brings with it at the same time a judgment upon those, who do not place themselves in the right attitude

towards it. It is followed by a fresh destruction of the city and the temple. This announcement is made in chaps ii., vii., and ix.

Chap. ii. and chap. vii. treat of the four monarchies. That the announcement contained in these chapters refers to the four successive empires, the Chaldean, Medo-Persian, Grecian, and Roman, has already been proved in part 1 of the Beiträge p. 199 sqq., (Dissertation on Daniel p. 161 sqq. translation), and also by *Hävernick* in his commentary, by *Reichel* in his treatise on "die vier Weltreiche Daniels" in the Studien und Kritiken p. 48, and by *Auberlen*, der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis, p. 171 sqq. We hope to be able on a future occasion to enter once more upon an investigation of this subject. The fourth kingdom is said to be eventually subdivided into ten kingdoms,—the ten toes of the image in chap. ii. and the ten horns in chap. vii. There is a peculiarity in the latter prophecy, namely the description of the little horn, which rises up after the ten horns, and, growing up in the midst of the horns, throws three of the large ones down. This little horn is explained by many commentators, and last of all by *Auberlen*, p. 40, as referring to an individual, "a king, in whom all the world's proud scorn and hatred of God, of the people of God, and of the worship of God are concentrated. We must, however, adhere to our opinion, that the little horn denotes a new phase of the world's enmity against the kingdom of God, and consequently that, if the ten horns in Daniel are to be understood as referring exclusively to *kingdoms* and not to persons,[1] the eleventh must be understood as denoting not an individual but a power. We must also persist in maintaining that, in other parts of the Bible, the antichrist is always introduced as simply an ideal person (see the commentary on Rev. ii. 1, p. 109); and lastly we still adhere to the parallelism of Rev. xx. 7—9 (see the exposition of that passage).

The four empires are followed by the kingdom of Christ. In chap. ii. the image is described as broken in pieces by the stone, which grows to a mountain, and which denotes this kingdom.

[1] *Auberlen*, p. 197, "The kings represent their kingdoms, as a comparison of chap. vii. with ver. 23 clearly shows."

In chap. vii., after the overthrow of the little horn, the Son of man appears in the clouds of heaven, and dominion over all nations is given to him.

In the vision of the ten horns we see very clearly the fragmentary character of the prophetic insight into the future, the "prophesying in part" of which the Apostle speaks in 1 Cor. xiii. 9. Daniel does not mention, as the book of Revelation expressly does, the conversion to Christianity of the kingdoms, denoted by the ten horns, which proceed out of the fourth imperial monarchy. In this case the Revelation has filled up an important gap, in a manner quite in harmony with the age in which it was written, as compared with the period when Daniel wrote. Daniel sees nothing but the final victory; John describes the steps by which it is attained.

Still there are not wanting, even in Daniel, slight allusions to the preliminaries of the final victory. In the passage contained in chap. ii. 35, "and the stone, that smote the image, became a great mountain and filled the whole earth," there is an intimation of the fact that the kingdom of God and Christ would not be established suddenly and in a perfect form, as chap. vii. 13, 14, might lead us to suppose, but that it would reach the height of its glory by slow degrees and from very small beginnings. *C. B. Michaelis* observes: "The kingdom of Christ appears at first under the name of a stone, but in its further progress and ultimate completion it attains to that of a mountain." He also points out the resemblance to the parables of the grain of mustard seed and leaven.

Another slight allusion may also be seen in chap. ii. 44: "and in the days of these kings shall the God of heaven set up a kingdom." The establishment of the kingdom of heaven is mentioned here as occurring during the period of the fourth monarchy, not after it; and it is certainly not an accidental circumstance that kings are spoken of in the plural number. *C. B. Michaelis* says: "in the days, or period *of these kings*, viz., of the fourth monarchy, of whom he had spoken just before, ver. 40—43. He speaks of kings in the plural, to show that the kingdom of Christ, which he is now about to describe, will not rise up in such a manner as to abolish all the kingdoms of the world at

once, but that it will be first established during the existence of certain kingdoms, and its onward progress continue during the existence of others."

If, on the other hand, we find in these hints, which are certainly very slight, the germs of truths, by which the gap is afterwards filled up both in the Book of Revelation and in history; on the other hand, both history and the Apocalypse fully explain how such a gap could possibly occur. They show us that the victory of Christ over the ten kings would evidently be followed by a reappearance of heathenism, a fact which would be impossible unless an evil root had still been left in the midst of the ten kingdoms.

Whilst chap. ii. and vii. are mainly devoted to the second coming of Christ, his appearance on the clouds of heaven; the ninth chapter is confined to the first coming, his appearance in the flesh, and the events immediately connected with it. His anointing with the Holy Ghost, his death, the forgiveness of sins procured by him, and the destruction of Jerusalem by a foreign prince, are the leading topics referred to here.

The marked distinction made in chap. vii. 13, 14, between the earthly and heavenly, the human and divine in the nature of the Messiah, is a matter of great importance.

In chap. xii. 2, 3, Daniel gives a very decided testimony to the fact of a resurrection. At the same time this hope is not distinctly connected with the expectation of a Messiah. On the contrary, it is placed in immediate association with the deliverance effected in the Maccabean period, as *C. B. Michaelis* observes, "because the contemplation of this would tend greatly to strengthen the minds of the people in the midst of tribulation." Whether the period, which intervened between the conflicts of the Maccabean times and the resurrection, should be long or short, the comfort to be derived from the resurrection itself would be just the same; and therefore it is as closely connected with the earthly deliverance, as if the one followed immediately upon the other. The relation, in which the two stand to each other in this passage, is just the same as that in which the reference to the glory beyond (in Rev. vii. 9—17), stands to the previous verses, in which the elect are assured of protection in the midst of the judgments that were to come upon the earth.—See

also Rev. xiv. 1—5; xx. 1—6, when the earthly prospects are first of all described (in ver. 1—3), and immediately afterwards (in vers. 4—6) the heavenly.

CHAP. VII. 13—14.

Ver. 13. "*I saw in visions of the night, and behold with the clouds of heaven came one like a Son of Man, and he came to the ancient of days, and they brought him before him.* Ver. 14. *And to him was given dominion, and glory, and royalty, and all people, nations, and languages serve him; his dominion is an everlasting dominion, which passeth not away, and his royalty one which will not be destroyed.*"

"The introductory words in ver. 13 are very properly fuller than those in vers. 11 and 9, which are parallel to those in ver. 7, since the fifth monarchy is here contrasted with the fourth referred to there." *Hitzig.* We have already observed, that we have here a formal statement of what will take place at the end of the world, and that the period referred to embraces merely the final consummation. We showed, that in the Book of Daniel itself there are hints, and even notices of distinct facts (chap. ix.), which clearly show that we have not to do with the opening period of the Messianic work and kingdom. It is a matter of great importance, so far as the interpretation of this passage is concerned, that, although the prediction literally relates to events which will take place at the end of the world, the period immediately following the destruction of the fourth kingdom, and especially of the little horn, yet in Matt. xxviii. 18, "all power is given unto me," in which there is a verbal allusion to ver. 14 of this chapter, the Lord himself speaks of the prophecy as already *fulfilled.* We are led to the same result by Matt. xxvi. 64, where the Lord, with evident reference to this passage, says to the High Priest, "but I say to you, *from this time forth* ye shall see the Son of Man sitting at the right hand of power and *coming in the clouds of heaven.*" Hence the coming in the clouds of heaven commenced immediately, and

had respect primarily not to the kingdoms of the world, but to Jerusalem. That we have here merely an allusion to the termination of a lengthened period is evident from Rev. xiv. 14—20. The Lord appears in this passage, as in the description given by Daniel, seated upon a white cloud, "and I looked and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like unto the Son of Man." The account which follows, however, does not refer exclusively to the final judgment; but "all that is effected during the entire course of history in a series of judicial acts, which are eventually brought to a conclusion by the last judgment, is here represented as one great harvest, one great vintage and winepressing." At the same time we have in this very passage a proof, that it does not contain the entire Christology of the prophets—("not that we should expect to find this when we consider the attitude which the prophet himself assumes in relation to earlier prophecies)—but merely one particular christological element. The Messiah appears here in the clouds of heaven as a *Son of Man*. This character cannot have been acquired in heaven, but must have distinguished him first of all, when he was on earth. The appearance of Christ in the flesh, which is expressly foretold in chap. ix., is here presupposed.

The Messiah appears in the clouds of heaven. In the symbolical language of the Bible the clouds represent judgment; see our commentary on Rev. i. 7. In other passages it is always the Lord who appears with, or upon the clouds of heaven. It is the Lord alone "who maketh the clouds his chariot," Ps. civ. 3. "Behold the Lord rideth upon a swift cloud, and cometh to Egypt, and the idols of Egypt tremble at his presence, and the heart of Egypt melts within it," Is. xix. 1; compare Ps. xcvii. 2, xviii. 10; Nahum. i. 3. None but the Lord of nature can appear upon the clouds of heaven. *Michaelis* is quite correct in saying, "the clouds are characteristic of divine majesty." Even the Talmudists[1] saw, that coming upon the clouds of heaven presents the most striking contrast to the Messiah's riding upon an ass, of which Zechariah speaks (ix. 9); but they were unable to explain the contrast, and changed into a conditional alternative what are really successive events. Even

[1] *Sanhedrin*, fol. 98: Si boni sunt Israelitae, tunc veniet in nubibus cœli, si vero non boni, tunc inequitans asino.

Zechariah, after referring to the state of humiliation, proceeds in the very next verse to describe the exaltation which ensues, the absolute world-wide dominion of the Messiah.—The Messiah appears upon the clouds of heaven: he is, therefore, an almighty judge, even *before* the dominion is given to him. From this it follows, that his coming thus must have a demonstrative signification; it can only be the recognition of an already existing fact.[1]

"*Like a Son of Man.*" The question arises, how are we to understand the particle of comparison, כ. According to some the fact, that the Messiah is said to have been like a man, necessarily leads to the conclusion that, in the opinion of the prophets, he would not be possessed of true humanity. They refer to chap. viii. 15, and x. 16, where angels are represented as resembling the children of men. The Messiah is a purely heavenly being, and only becomes "like a Son of Man," because, when the invisible becomes visible, the incorporeal corporeal, it must assume the noblest form. This is the view expressed by *Bertholdt* and *von Lengerke*. But these expositors have no conception whatever of the link of connexion, which runs through prophecy. At the time when Daniel prophesied, it had long been received as an established fact, that the Messiah would appear as a true Son of Man. The Messiah a son of David was one of the first principles of Messianic expectation. Compare, for example, Is. xi. 1, and Micah v. 1. Moreover in chap. ix., it is expressly shown that Daniel was aware of the true humanity of Christ, for he speaks of him there in ver. 25 as the Anointed, the Prince, and in ver. 26 foretels that he will be *cut off*.

According to others, the particle of comparison points out the difference between the vision and reality. Thus *Calvin* says: "he

[1] *Calvin* say: "It must be maintained, that reference is here made to the *manifestation* of Christ, for he has been from the beginning the life of men, the world was created by him, and hence has been sustained by his energy, but to him was given power, that we might know that God reigns by his hand." From what has been said it follows that the distinction which *Gaas* has pointed out between Matt. xxvi. 64 and Dan. vii. 13 is founded upon a false interpretation of the latter passage. He says: Danielis Barnasch advenit ut imperia magna per deum obtineat, Christus vero h. l. cernitur ut coelesti jam potestate omni ornatus, ille ad senem judicem nubibus advehitur (?), hic ipse judex est majestatis ad dextram sedens (de utroque Jesu Christi nomine, Breslau 1840 p. 113).

appeared to Daniel as a son of man, who was afterwards really and truly a son of man." And *Carpzov* (de fil. hom. Leipzig 1679): "The prefiguration of a thing is different from the thing prefigured. It was not a real man that appeared to Daniel in this vision, but a certain φάνταϲμα with the likeness of a man, just as the beasts which he saw, foreshadowing the four monarchies, were not real beasts, but a resemblance of them presented to the imagination. He who was actually to exist at a future time, was here beheld by the prophet in a vision." *Hitzig* again says: "It was *a priori* impossible that Daniel should know who it was that really came to him, he could only tell in what manner he appeared to him." But we cannot see why the character of the person seen should be so particularly noticed here, since this was always taken for granted, when utterance was given to the expectation of the coming one. The particle of comparison כ is used, like דמות and other similar terms, in connexion with visions (for example in Ezek. i.), when it is required to show that what is seen bears an ideal character, as in the case of the cherubs, and that a symbolical drapery is employed. Where the simple reality is witnessed, it is never used. In every other case in which there is said to have been a likeness to the children of men, the illusion is not to the distinction between the vision and reality, but rather to the fact that there was a difference as well as a resemblance. Thus in chap. viii. 15, where it is said with reference to the *angel* Gabriel: "then, behold there stood before me, one like the appearance of a man;" chap. x. 16: "and behold one like the children of men touched my lips," and Ezek. i. 26, where the prophet says of Jehovah, who manifested himself in human form: "one to look at like a man."

By comparing these passages we may arrive at a correct conclusion. The fact that, notwithstanding his true humanity, the Messiah is here said to have been like a Son of Man,[1] shows, both here and in Rev. i. 13, and xiv. 14, that there is also another point of view in which he is far superior to everything human. He is a man and yet not a man, just as the Lord himself in Matt. xxii. 43 denies that the Messiah is the son of David. The context favours this view in the present case, and in the

[1] V. Lengerke says it must be admitted that the word includes the subordinate idea of weakness.

passages referred to in the Book of Revelation, where Christ is described as "like unto a Son of Man," the context expressly refers to his superhuman exaltation. In the case before us the כ is evidently associated with his coming on the clouds of heaven. And in Rev. xiv. 14, "and I looked and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sitting, who was like the Son of a Man." Every one feels that the words could not run thus: "I saw a Son of Man sitting upon the cloud." For the phrase "all people, nations, and languages serve him," compare Ps. lxxii. 8, and Zech. ix. 10. *Carpzov* has already pointed out the fact, that in biblical Chaldee פְּלַח is *never* used in any other sense than that of divine worship: "that פלח is employed in the sacred Scriptures to denote not political, but religious homage (whether paid erroneously to a false deity, or properly to the true God), is evident from Dan. iii. 12, 14, 17, 18, 28, and Ezra vii. 19." The occurrence of the word in chap. vii. 27, where allusion is made to the service to be rendered to "the people of the saints of the Most High," cannot be adduced as an objection to this explanation. For Christ is the head of the people of the saints of the Most High. Compare Is. xlv. 14, where the congregation of the Lord is worshipped by the heathen world, because the Lord is in the midst of it. This verse furnishes an answer to *v. Lengerke's* opinion, that Daniel differs from the earlier prophets, inasmuch as he assigns to the heathen nothing but pure external service, whereas they describe them as inwardly associated with the kingdom of the Messiah. According to Daniel they are to be subjugated by the Jews. There is a similar intimation in the expression "without hands," in chap. ii. 34, 35. A kingdom, however, which is not of this world, whose origin is entirely from above, and which is established without weapons of war, cannot lead to a purely outward service. "*His dominion is an everlasting dominion.*" The everlasting duration of his dominion is a common feature in the announcement of the Messiah; compare Ps. lxxii. 5, 7, 17, lxxxix. 37, 38; Is. ix. 6.

We have started with the assumption, that the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven was Christ. The history of biblical interpretation proves, that there must be good ground for

this explanation. It was supported by the whole of the early Christian Church with very few exceptions.[1] The Jews were certainly interested in opposing it, as Christ had so expressly declared himself to be the Son of Man. Yet, with the exception of Abenezra, they are unanimous in supporting this exposition. It is even found in the Sibylline books and in the Book of Enoch; compare the references in *Gass* p. 92 sqq. On the ground of this passage the Messiah was called by the Jews ענני, the man of the clouds. The Talmud also gives this explanation in a series of passages. *Abarbanel* bears witness that the Jewish expositors generally adopted it: "The expositors explain these words, like a Son of Man, as referring to the King Messiah." (See the careful discussion of the Jewish writings in question in *Carpzov's* treatise, *Beck's* remarks on the Chaldee paraphrase of 1 Chr. iii. 24, and *Schöttgen's* h. Hebr. ii. p. 263). So far as the rationalistic commentators were concerned, besides their general inclination to limit the number of Messianic prophecies as far as possible, there were special reasons why they should reject a Messianic explanation in the present case, if they could find any possible excuse for doing so. They assign its composition to as late a date as the period of the Maccabees. But according to the current theory, which I have shewn to be erroneous in my work "*für Beibehaltung der Apocryphen*," there is not a single trace of the expectation of a personal Messiah to be found in the Apocryphal books. This belief is said to have been altogether extinct in the days of the writers of the Apocrypha. If therefore there is any Messianic prophecy in the book of Daniel, according to this theory it must be altogether erroneous to assign it to a Maccabean origin. *Hävernick* has already directed attention to the gross contradictions in which *De Wette* has involved himself by saying in § 188 of the Biblische Dogmatik, "The Messiah appeared as a divine being in the clouds of heaven," Dan. vii. 13, 14, and then laying it down in the next

[1] *Theodoret* (on ver. 28) expresses his surprise that in opposition to the most transparent facts it should be so commonly maintained by pious teachers (τῶν τῆς εὐσεβείας διδασκάλων), that the fourth kingdom is the Macedonian. He probably alludes to Ephraim Syrus, who explained the title Son of Man as referring in a lower sense to the Maccabean age, in a higher sense to Christ. But this was quite an isolated exception.

section as a characteristic of the doctrines held by the Apocryphal writers that they contain "nothing about a Messiah or a kingdom of the Messiah or of God," and then again at § 255 of his Introduction to the Old Testament describing the Christology of chap. vii. 13, 14, of the book of Daniel, as indicating the late politico-religious spirit of the book. But notwithstanding this, so strongly is the Messianic character impressed upon the passage, that nearly all the rationalistic commentators have supported the Messianic interpretation; not only *De Wette*, but *Bertholdt*, *Gesenius*, *v. Lengerke*, and *Maurer*.

The testimony, which we have thus obtained at the outset in favour of the Messianic exposition of this passage from the history of the biblical *exegesis*, is confirmed on closer investigation. The arguments adduced by the opponents of such an exposition *(Paulus*, commentary on the New Testament, *Wegscheider* in his Dogmatik, *Hofmann*, Weissagung und Erfüllung 1 p. 290, and Schriftbeweis ii. 2 p. 541, and *Hitzig)* are thoroughly inconclusive.

1. "In the second part," it is argued, "in which an explanation of the chapter is given, the Messiah is never mentioned, and the constancy, with which all that is said of the Son of Man in ver. 14 is afterwards applied to the saints of the Most High in ver. 18, 22, and 27, renders it exceedingly probable that by the Son of Man we are to understand the people of Israel." The error committed in the statement of this argument is, that the passage under review is severed from the entire course of prophecy, and no attention is paid to the relation in which Daniel himself declares that he stood to the prophets who preceded him; compare, for example, chap. ix. 6, "thy servants the prophets, which speaks in thy name," and ver. 10. It was a fundamental idea of prophecy, that the future salvation was to be bestowed upon the people of the saints of the Most High, through the medium of the Messiah; that it did not belong to the people as a body, but to the people as united under Christ, their head; compare Eph. v. 23, "Christ, the head of the church;" ver. 30, "we are members of his body;" and Col. i. 18. If Daniel could assume that this was already known, he had no reason to fear that he would be misunderstood, when he after-

wards attributed to the people of the saints of the Most High, what he had previously written of the Messiah. No true Israelite would have misunderstood him, even if he had not expressly mentioned the Messiah before, and thus guarded against any misapprehension. Compare *C. B. Michaelis* on ver. 18: "they will receive the kingdom in and with Christ their head; see vers. 13, 14." Moreover such a transition from the person of the Messiah to the whole body of the church is very common even among the earlier prophets. Look, for example, at Is. lii. 13—53, in conjunction with chap. liv. 2.—2. It is said that "as the four beasts undoubtedly represent four kingdoms, it is natural to suppose that by the fifth figure, that of the Son of Man, we are to understand not an individual, but a nation." On the contrary the analogy favours the Messianic interpretation. The four beasts do not represent kingdoms without heads, but "four kings," chap. vii. 17. "Thou art the head of gold," says Daniel to Nebuchadnezzar. Hence, according to the analogy, we are not to look in this instance for a kingdom (ver. 27) without a king, a sovereign people.—3. "On the supposition that the book of Daniel was composed in the Maccabean age, a personal Messiah is from the very outset precluded." This argument, which *Hitzig* adduces, is of no worth except so far as it serves to throw light upon the *genesis* of the anti-Messianic exposition. —4. "The divine nature of the Messiah is an idea altogether foreign to the Old Testament." On the contrary, compare what we have already said on Is. ix. 5, and Micah v. 1.

The positive arguments in favour of the Messianic explanation are the following:—1. The ideal personality of the nation would have been more particularly pointed out at the very outset; otherwise every one would understand the passage as referring to the actual person of the Messiah. The elevation of the people had hitherto been inseparably connected with the royal house of David; and earlier prophets had invariably pointed to the Son of David as the author of its future glory. If, therefore, Daniel ascribed this future exaltation first to the Son of Man, and then to the nation, he could only intend that the former of these should be understood as referring to the Messiah.—2. His coming in the clouds of heaven is decisive. The anti-Messianic expositors have not only to explain, how Israel could be in heaven, how

it could come from heaven *(Hitzig)*, or ascend from the earth to heaven *(Hofmann)*,[1] but how it could become possessed of omnipotent judicial power. For it is this that is indicated by his coming with the clouds.—3. Israel could not appropriately be compared to a son of man. Such a comparison presupposes that there was a difference as well as a resemblance.—4. In the other passages of this book, in which any one is described as being like the children of men, it is not an ideal person, but a real person, who is spoken of. The same remark applies to Ezek. i. 26.

There can be no doubt that the Lord applied this prophecy to himself. We have already shown in the Dissertation on Daniel, p. 220, translation, that it forms the basis of the Saviour's declarations as to his future coming to judgment, in Matt. x. 23, xvi. 27, 28, xix. 28, xxiv. 30, xxv. 31, xxvi. 64; just as his declarations, respecting the kingdom of God and kingdom of heaven, are founded upon chap. ii. 44, both of these expressions, so far as they relate to the Messianic kingdom, being taken from that passage. And if this may be regarded as established, there can be no doubt, that in other places, in which Jesus speaks of himself in a different connection as the Son of Man, there is also an allusion to the passage before us. The very frequency, with which this expression is employed (we find it no less than fifty-five times in the mouth of Jesus, after making deductions for parallel passages), is an indication of the existence of some passage in the Old Testament, upon which it is founded, and which gives a deeper signification to this unassuming expression. A closer examination of the usage itself leads to the same conclusion. With the exception of those passages which treat of Christ's second coming to judgment, the expression is generally employed by the Saviour, when he is speaking of his humiliation, his ignominy and his sufferings. Compare, for example, Matt. xx. 28: "as the Son of Man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister;" Luke xxiv. 7: "the Son of Man must be delivered

[1] There is nothing in the text about coming from heaven, or going to heaven. And *Carpzov* has correctly observed: "the Messiah is said to have come not to men on the earth, but to the Ancient of Days in heaven, and to have been brought not into the presence of the men, who were about to be judged, but into the presence of the Father."

into the hands of sinful men, and be crucified," &c.; John xii. 34: "the Son of Man must be lifted up." In such passages as these its appropriateness and significance can only be seen, as it is explained by the Book of Daniel, where heavenly majesty is associated with appearing as a Son of Man. It then acquires an argumentative force. It grants what is evident to the eyes of all, but proclaims at the same time the hidden majesty behind. It is as much as to say: do not stumble at my lowly humanity, this is not at variance with prophecy; on the contrary, it is attested by it; it does not prevent my being a Son of God, but even according to prophecy the two go hand in hand.—The numerous passages in which this expression occurs presuppose the humanity of Christ; and it is in connection with this that their argumentative force is seen. On the same ground, in part at least, we may explain the fact that the apostles do not speak of Jesus as the Son of Man. When Jesus had ascended to the right hand of the Father, his lowly humanity was no longer the stumbling-block which had to be taken out of the way. During the life of Christ on earth it was but right that both the apostles and the Lord himself should acknowledge, that appearances spoke powerfully against him, and such an admission was contained in the use of the expression "the Son of Man."—A second explanation may be found in the fact, that the words of the Lord were always primarily addressed to persons, who were acquainted with the prophecies of the Old Testament, and to whom slight and significant allusions were both intelligible and impressive. The case was different with the apostles, who had also to address themselves to Gentile Christians.[1] Those who attempt to explain the use of the expression "Son of Man" by Christ, without reference to the Book of Daniel, are unable to do justice to the fact that it is never employed by the Apostles. "The ideal man" would be constantly echoed in the writings of the apostles, if it had been from preference that the Lord made use of so peculiar an expression. Let us look minutely at a few more of these passages. "Whom do men say that I the Son of

[1] This argument, however, can only be regarded as of subordinate importance, since Jesus was not called the Son of Man by his disciples even during his life on earth. "No one was so called (viz., the Son of Man) but Christ himself, and no one, whilst he walked on earth, so called him except himself." *Bengel*, Gnomon, vol. i., p. 320, English translation.

Man am?" the Lord enquires of his disciples in Matt. xvi. 13. The words in apposition, "the Son of Man," indicate the possibility of various opinions prevailing respecting Christ, some of them very derogatory, and at the same time furnish the groundwork of a correct reply, and contain the germ of Peter's answer, "thou art the Son of the living God." He says to his disciples, Be not ye offended, like the ignorant multitude, at my lowly humanity. Remember that in Daniel the Son of Man comes with the clouds of heaven.—The scribes looked upon it as blasphemy when Christ forgave sins, because he was a man. And it would really have been so, even if Jesus had been the ideal man. When Jesus says to them, in Matt. ix. 6, "that ye may know that the Son of Man hath power on earth to forgive sins," he refutes the argument drawn from his humanity, by his allusion to the passage in Daniel, in which divinity is associated with humanity,—"For the Son of Man is Lord of the Sabbath" (Matt. xii. 8): I am so, notwithstanding my human lowliness, which Daniel has shown to be attended by divinity.—In John v. 27 he says, "he hath given him power to execute judgment also because he is the Son of Man." To Christ is committed the execution of judgment not because of his humanity alone—even an "ideal man" would have no right to act as a judge; and we must not imagine that an ideal man is referred to merely because the article is omitted—it is upon his combined divinity and humanity that this appointment rests. But there is no intimation of this in the expression Son of Man, except as it is compared with the prediction in Daniel.

THE SEVENTY WEEKS.—CHAP. IX. 24—27.

GENERAL SURVEY.

In the first year of Darius the Mede, Daniel is engaged in the study of Jeremiah, and his mind is deeply affected, when he peruses again the well known prophecies, which foretel the misery

of the covenant nation, its captivity for seventy years, its return after this to its own land, and the consequent commencement of the rebuilding of the city and temple. The sixty-ninth year had now arrived (see Dissertation on Daniel, 143 sqq., translation). The fall of Babylon, the one leading topic of Jeremiah's prophecies (chap. xxv. and xxix.), had already occurred,—(according to ver. 1, Daniel saw the vision in the first year of Darius "who was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans")—and his faith in the truth of the divine predictions with reference to the other event, which was now drawing near with rapid steps, and the very germs of which lay hidden in existing circumstances, was firmly supported by what he already saw. Daniel was far from distrusting the promises of God. But the less he doubted, the more firmly he trusted in the grace of God, and the more thoroughly he recognised the justice of God (for this also required the fulfilment of the promise, when once it had been given in mercy),—the more did he feel himself impelled to intercede on behalf of the nation, the temple, and the city of the Lord. True boldness in prayer to the Lord springs from the conviction, that we are praying according to his will. In form, the prayer of Daniel is restricted to the fact of forgiveness; but there lies hidden in the background a prayer for further disclosures, as to the manner in which it will be granted. From the whole character of Daniel it is *a priori* impossible, that he should ask for nothing more than a simple confirmation of the prophecies of Jeremiah. We have now before us the one prophet, who was distinguished above all the others for his wide range of vision, and in whose predictions we find on every hand the most minute revelations with regard to the future. And we may see still more clearly from the answer, that a prayer for such revelations lay hidden behind. The answer is not restricted to a fresh confirmation of the fact of deliverance; but more precise disclosures are made as to the manner in which it will be effected. There were two respects, in which such disclosures were especially necessary. First of all the question arose, whether, when the seventy years of Jeremiah were passed, the glorious condition of the kingdom of God, predicted by the earlier prophets, would be realised all at once, and especially whether the Messianic salvation would immediately follow. The pro-

phecies of Jeremiah furnished no material for answering this important question, which must have occupied the minds of the people more and more as the seventy years were drawing to a close. In chap. xxv. 11 there is merely a reference to the termination of the Chaldean captivity, and in chap. xxix. 10 to the return to Canaan, with which the commencement of the rebuilding of Jerusalem is naturally associated.—A *second* important question was, whether the future would bring salvation alone, or whether, in connexion with the revelation of mercy, there would also be a fresh manifestation of the justice of God.

How much these questions were agitated in the days of the prophet, and how great the need of a revelation to decide them, may be seen very clearly from the prophecies of Zechariah, who lived so nearly about the same time. They are the two poles around which these prophecies revolve. To those who are unable to explain the contrast between the actual condition of the nation and the glorious promises it had received, the prophet points out the successive steps by which complete salvation will be attained, and the certain fulfilment in the future of whatever part of prophecy has not yet been accomplished. At the same time he shows them that judgment will accompany mercy, that Jerusalem will again be destroyed, and the people will be scattered once more. In the case of Daniel, there was a preparation for such an announcement as this, in his knowledge of the depth of the people's guilt, to which he gives utterance in his prayer.

The prayer is heard, and Gabriel, the medium of all revelations, is commissioned to make known to the faithful prophet the counsel determined in heaven. The speed with which he arrives shows that on the whole his message is a good one. It is the following. In return for the seventy years, during which the nation, the city and the temple, have been entirely prostrate, they shall receive from the Lord seventy *weeks* of years, seven times seventy years of renewed existence; and at the end of that period, not only will the mercy of God be still unexhausted, but then first will the people of God become partakers of that mercy in all its richest abundance. Then shall the forgiveness of sins be fully imparted, eternal righteousness brought in, the Most Holy be anointed, and the blessings of salvation, promised

by the prophets, actually enjoyed. This general summary in ver. 24 is followed by more minute details in vers. 25—27, viz., the point from which the time is calculated; the subdivision of the whole period into several shorter ones, and a notice of the characteristics of each, *i.e.*, of the peculiar blessings by which each will be distinguished; the announcement of Him, through whom the last and greatest act of grace will be accomplished; a description of those who will enjoy the benefits thereof, as well as of those for whom it is not designed, and who will therefore be excluded.—1. The point of time, from which the seventy weeks are reckoned, is the issue of the divine command to restore the city in its ancient extent and glory. This is different from the point of time, at which the prophecies of Jeremiah terminate, since they merely speak of the restoration of the people to Canaan and the first attempts to rebuild the city, which necessarily follow. —2. The entire period is subdivided into three shorter ones of seven weeks, sixty-two weeks, and one week. The termination of the first is indicated by the completion of the work of rebuilding the city; that of the second by the appearance of an anointed one, a prince; and that of the third by the completion of the covenant with the many, for whom the blessings of salvation pointed out in ver. 24, as connected with the termination of the entire period, are ultimately destined. The last period is again subdivided into two halves. Whilst the confirmation of the covenant occupies the whole from beginning to end; the cessation of the sacrifice and meat-offering, and the death of the anointed one, on which it rests, both take place in the middle of this period. —3. As the author of the blessings of salvation, which are perfected at the end of the seventy weeks, there appears an anointed one, a prince, who enters upon his office at the end of the sixty-ninth week, and having confirmed the covenant with many, during the first half of the seventieth week, meets with a violent death. The sacrifice and meat-offering cease in consequence; but the confirmation of the covenant still goes on after his death.—4. The blessings of salvation, to be bestowed by the anointed one, are not intended for the whole nation. On the contrary, the greater part of the nation, after cutting itself off by the murder of the anointed one from his kingdom and its blessings, will

become a prey to the army of a foreign prince, which, acting as an instrument in the hand of the avenging God, will thoroughly exterminate the ruined city and polluted temple.

The announcement is essentially of a cheering character. This is true in a certain sense, even of that part of it, which relates to the destruction of the city and temple. For even this is necessary to complete the whole, on account of the constancy with which the prophets represent the most brilliant manifestations of the mercy of God as inseparably connected with the most striking manifestation of His justice towards such as despise his mercy. The sifting judgments of God are a blessing to his church; in one light they are a cause of joy to believers, though in another they are undoubtedly the cause of bitter sorrow. Compare Is. i. 24 sqq., lxv. 13, 14, lxvi. 24; Mal. iii. 21; Luke xxi. 28; 2 Macc. vi. 13, "for it is a token of his great goodness, when wicked doers are not suffered any long time, but forthwith punished, &c." Daniel had not prayed for the stiffnecked and ungodly, but for those who heartily joined with him in the penitential confession of their sins. These were the object of all the promises, and of the tender care of the prophets. Daniel mourned over the Chaldean destruction of the city and temple, chiefly because it had caused a partial suspension of the theocracy, which was still only manifested in an outward form. In this respect the overthrow of the city and temple formed the subject of his lamentation, in which he prayed for their restoration, compare vers. 15—19. But this will not be the case with the destruction depicted here. The overthrow of the outward temple is accompanied by the anointing of a Most Holy one. The termination of the dominion of the anointed one over the covenant people is attended by the confirmation of the covenant for the many, in whom the prophet is especially interested. The cessation of the sacrifices could be easily borne, since that which they foreshadowed, the forgiveness of sins and eternal righteousness, would be first truly and perfectly secured by the very event, which led to their cessation.

Wieseler is quite wrong when he lays it down as a fundamental principle that "every exposition of these verses is false which does not point out, in addition to certain predictions relating to

a distant future, the announcement of deliverance from existing misery; since this was the immediate object of Daniel's prayer" (die 70 Wochen Daniels, Göttingen 39, p. 13). This prophecy must be completed from those of Jeremiah. At the end of the seventy years there follow, as a matter of course, the return of the people and the commencement of the rebuilding of Jerusalem. Instead of a repetition of what was already well known, further revelations are given at once. The mind of the prophet was directed exclusively to the seventy years,[1] but now by these revelations it is turned abruptly away from them and directed to a new cycle of events. Even *Steudel* felt at a loss how to explain this prophecy, and, in order to satisfy the supposed necessity of the case, by a forced exposition interpolated a reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Jeremiah. That the answer must refer particularly to the time fixed by Jeremiah for the termination of the captivity, can only be asserted by those who start with the false assumption, that Daniel doubted whether God would adhere to the period predicted. For if this was regarded by him as certain (and it could not be otherwise), he needed no further instruction on this head; but he did need further light on those greater and more important topics, to which the answer refers.

EXPOSITION.

Ver. 24. "*Seventy weeks are cut off upon thy people and upon thy holy city, to shut in transgression, and to seal up sins, and to cover iniquity, and to bring eternal righteousness; and to seal up vision and prophet, and to anoint a Holy of Holies.*"

"*Seventy weeks.*"

The word *weeks* is masculine here, both in form and construction, whereas in other cases it is generally feminine. This has

[1] *Ewald* says: "Jeremiah certainly thought that the complete Messianic salvation would follow immediately upon the seventy years of exile."

not only furnished a welcome pretext to such as wish to alter the text, but has given rise to many an erroneous theory, on the part of those who retain it as it is. Thus *Bertholdt* and *v. Lengerke* maintain that the masculine form, which is not used anywhere else, is chosen here because of its similarity in sound to שָׁבְעִים; overlooking the fact that שָׁבוּעַ occurs as a masculine both in form and construction, without any reference whatever to שִׁבְעִים, not only in ver. 27 of this chapter, where it might be attributed to the influence of the masculine in the verse before us, but also in chap. x. 2, 3. *Ewald* says that we have here an arbitrary change in the gender, such as we frequently meet with in the later writers. But we have no right to resort to such an explanation, unless a thorough examination of the question confirms the assumption, on which it is based, that in every other instance the gender of the word is feminine. This, however, is by no means the case. On the contrary it is evident from Gen. xxix. 27, מַלֵּא שְׁבֻעַ זֹאת, "fill up the week of this one," *i.e.*, first keep with her the seven days' marriage-festival, that the word was originally masculine; for the fact that we find the masculine form employed here, in the case of a word in which the meaning could have no influence upon the gender, is a proof that it was originally regarded as masculine. In such words as these, where the feminine is only an ideal form, and more or less an arbitrary one, we nearly always find some traces of the early masculine gender. The co-existence of the two genders in the case of this word must be all the more readily admitted, since it is really a participle, "*sevened*," just as in the song "alle Menschen müssen sterben" the "gezwölfte Zahl" is used for the Zwölfzahl. But in both adjectives and participles the gender, as a rule, is shown in the form; and therefore the existence of the masculine form שָׁבוּעַ is at the same time a proof of the existence of the masculine gender. שָׁבוּעַ, with the plural שָׁבְעִים, is a "*sevened*" period; שָׁבוּעָה, of which the plural is שָׁבֻעוֹת, a "*sevened*" time. In both cases עֵת must be understood, and there is the less reason to suppose the gender to be definitely fixed, since even in the case of the word עֵת itself it is very variable. The extent, to which

the words שָׁבוּעַ and שָׁבְעָה still retained their force as adjectives may be seen from Ezek. xlv. 21, where the feast of passover is called חַג שָׁבֻעוֹת יָמִים, "the feast of the 'sevened (periods) of days," *i.e.* the feast, in which the days were divided into sevens, unleavened bread being eaten for seven days.

The position of the numeral after the noun has also been adduced as an argument against the correctness of our text; but numerous examples may be found of this in the case of the tens from twenty to ninety, as *Gesenius* has shown in his *Lehrgebäude*, p. 698. In the present instance, it has no doubt originated in the wish to render the contrast more striking between the "*weeks of years*," and the "*years*" of Jeremiah. The usual order of the words is changed, whenever prominence is given to any particular word, for the sake of rendering it more emphatic.

But what right have we to interpret the weeks as weeks of years, or periods of seven years each? One argument, frequently adduced by commentators (among the latest by *Hävernick* and *Blomstrand*, de LXX. hebdomad, Lund. 53), is this: that when the prophet afterwards describes the ordinary weeks as weeks of days (chap. x. 2), he intends thereby to intimate that he has previously been speaking of weeks of a different kind. But this argument will not bear examination, as *Sostmann* has already shown (de LXX. hebdomad, Lugd. 1710). In the passage referred to, Daniel says: "I, Daniel, was mourning שְׁלֹשָׁה שָׁבֻעִים יָמִים." That this must not be rendered "three weeks of days," but "three weeks long,"—יָמִים being added in apposition, as it frequently is when periods of time are referred to, to show that the time is accurately given even to a single day,—is evident from the word שָׁבֻעִים in the absolute state. The most forcible argument is founded upon the seventy years of Jeremiah. A reference to these is sufficient to show that seventy ordinary weeks cannot for a moment be thought of. For what comfort would it have afforded to Daniel, if he had been told, that, as a compensation for the seventy years of desolation, the city would stand for seventy ordinary weeks, and then be destroyed again? Moreover Daniel himself must have been able to perceive, from the magnitude of the events, which were

to take place during this period, that something more was intended than ordinary weeks. But if they were not ordinary weeks, he would be led all the more naturally to think of weeks of years, both from the important position assigned to them in the law of Moses, and because the captivity had again so forcibly recalled them to mind, the seventy years' desolation being generally regarded as a punishment for neglecting to keep the Sabbatical years (2 Chr. xxxvi. 21). It is true, these periods of seven years' duration are not called שָׁבֻעִים or שָׁבוּעוֹת in the law itself; but it is evident, notwithstanding, that they were looked upon as weeks, from the frequency with which the seventh year is spoken of as "the great Sabbath," or simply "the Sabbath" (Lev. xxv. 2, 4, 5; xxvi. 34, 35, 43; 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21). Whatever obscurity might still remain, was removed by the fulfilment. It must be borne in mind, that an indefinite phrase, which comprehended more than the words expressed, was intentionally chosen, that the boundary line between prophecy and history might still be preserved, and the light thrown by the latter upon the former might not be superfluous. The desire to avoid the two extremes, namely, a vague indefiniteness on the one hand, which might be pleaded as an argument against the divine origin of the prophecy and thus frustrate its design, and the disturbance of its proper relation to history on the other, is apparent throughout the entire section, and is secured in a most remarkable manner. A perfectly analogous example of a statement of time, which is indefinite in itself, but perfectly definite when the help of history is called in, we find in chap. iv. 20 of this same book; see Dissertation on Daniel, p. 82 sqq.

But what led the prophet to make use of this particular measure of time? First of all, the desire to render the statement both definite and *obscure*. Now such a desire could not have been realised, if he had employed the ordinary reckoning, and mentioned the number of years that would elapse between the time at which he wrote, and the *terminus ad quem*. Nor would he have effected his purpose, so far as definiteness was concerned, if he had chosen a measure of time, which was altogether arbitrary and entirely unknown, such for example as *Bengel's* prophetic years. It might then have been objected,

that it was very easy to define periods in this manner, if they were only to be determined by their fulfilment. Another reason may be found in the connexion between this prophecy, and the seventy years of Jeremiah. It served to point out very clearly the relation in which the mercy of God stood to the wrath of God, that to the seventy years, spoken of in ver. 2 as having been accomplished on the *desolations* of Jerusalem, a seventy of another kind was opposed, as the period during which the city was to stand when rebuilt, namely, seven times seventy years. Moreover seven and seventy were perfect and sacred numbers, which were all the better adapted to the divine chronology, from their connexion with the creation of the world and other events in sacred history.—Lastly, the allusion to the year of jubilee is unmistakeable. *Seven* weeks of years constituted the cycle, in the last year of which the civil *restitutio in integrum* took place, when all debts were cancelled, all slaves set free, and lands, which had been diverted from their original owners, were restored. The last of *seventy* weeks of years was the greatest of all Sabbaths, the period of spiritual *restitutio in integrum*, of the expiation and cancelling of every kind of guilt.[1]

"*Are cut off.*"

We must first of all examine the apparent anomaly in the use of the singular number. It may be explained from the fact that the seventy hebdomads were not considered individually but as whole; *a period* of seventy hebdomads *is* determined. An analogous example may be found in Gen. xlvi. 22, "these are the sons of Rachel אֲשֶׁר יָלַד לְיַעֲקֹב." We have here, not certain sons opposed to other sons, but the entire posterity of Jacob by Rachel

[1] Even among heathen writers there are traces to be found of a similar mode of reckoning. *Marcus Varro*, after having traced the importance of the number seven in natural objects, in the first of his books called Hebdomades (see the extract in *Gellius* 3, 10), adds, *se quoque jam duodecimam annorum hebdomadam ingressum esse, et ad eum diem septuaginta hebdomadas librorum conscripsisse.* In his case, as in that of Daniel, there were peculiar reasons for selecting this mode of reckoning; partly, the prominence already given to the importance of the number seven, and partly, the intention to institute a comparison between the seven years and seven books.

contrasted with his children by his other wives. Compare chap. xxxv. 26, and Jer. xliv. 9: "have ye forgotten the iniquities of the Kings of Judah, וְאֵת רָעוֹת נָשָׁיו." The reference in this case is not to particular monarchs, but to the whole line of kings. So also in Eccl. ii. 7, "Man-servants and maid-servants וּבְנֵי בַיִת הָיָה לִי." As a rule we find in such a case as this the feminine singular. But wherever the singular masculine is employed, as in the passages quoted and the one before us, a reason may always be discovered. In the examples cited from Genesis, Ecclesiastes, and Jeremiah, a sufficient reason may be found in the incongruity of combining together masculine nouns, relating to persons, and a feminine verb. In the instance before us the reason evidently was, that the author did not regard the seventy weeks as an abstract notion, in which case the feminine is usually employed, but had a particular noun in his mind, for example, *time* or *period;* compare עֵת, which occurs as a masculine in chap. xi. 14. We have an exact parallel in Eccl. i. 10: לְעֹלָמִים אֲשֶׁר הָיָה מִלְּפָנֵינוּ;—that is, according to the correct interpretation *(Vulgate, quae fuerunt)*, which *Ewald* has not given.

The meaning of the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον* חָתַךְ is fully established by a comparison of the Chaldee and Rabbinical חתך, to cut off. *J. D. Michaelis*, however, maintains (in his work über die 70 Wochen, p. 42), that the Chaldee and Rabbinical word may have been taken from this passage; but such an assumption could only be regarded as probable, if the word was merely used, as in the Targum of Esther iv. 5, with the figurative meaning to decide, determine. In that case it might have been obtained by conjecture from the context of our passage. But as חתך is sometimes used with the meaning "to cut off" in a literal sense, which could not have been obtained from the passage before us, the conjecture falls to the ground. We find, for example, חֲתִיכִים, *partes, portiones, pars secta et abscissa*, and חתיכת של בשר, according to the Miklal Jophi, *incisio carnis*. There are many who suppose, that *cutting off* is merely another expression for determining; and in support of this opinion they appeal to the fact that verbs signifying to cut off are frequently

used in this sense in the Semitic dialects. (See the examples quoted by *Gesenius*, Thesaurus s. v. גזר). The Septuagint translators have so rendered it, *ἑβδομήκοντα ἑβδομάδες ἐκρίθησαν ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν σου.* But in the very fact that, although Daniel might easily have found other, and much more common words, if he had merely wished to express the notion of determination,—words which he actually does employ on other occasions and even in this section,—he employs a word not used elsewhere, we have an apparent proof, that the word is used here with some reference to its primary meaning, and is intended to represent the seventy weeks as a period accurately defined and sharply "cut off," in distinction from a mere determination of time *ἐν πλάτει.* The idea of "*determining*" must therefore by all means be maintained (a comparison of this passage with Esther iv. 5, leads to this conclusion), but the verse before us lays special emphasis upon the precise determination.—Many take the word in the sense of shortening. *Theodotion* regarded this as the meaning, and rendered it *συνετμήθησαν.* It is true, *Theodoret*, who commented upon *Theodotion's* rendering, maintained that *συντέμνειν* was used by him in the sense of determining (*συνετμήθησαν, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐδοκιμάσθησαν καὶ ἐκρίθησαν· οὕτω γὰρ τινὲς ἑρμηνευτῶν ἐκδεδώκασιν*), and this assertion has been repeated by more modern writers as beyond all doubt. But no evidence can be adduced in support of it either from profane authors, or Greek translators. *Kypke* (on Rom. ix. 28) has shown that *συντέμνειν* always means *circumcidere, abbreviare*, never *decernere, decidere.* In this sense the translators of the Vulgate understood both the Hebrew and Greek expression (LXX. *hebdomades abbreviatae sunt super populum tuum*). An abbreviated period is one shortened as much as possible, that the patience of the waiting church of God might not be exhausted. But there is no ground whatever for rendering חתך either shortening or hastening.

"*Upon thy people and upon thy holy city.*"

Why is Jerusalem described as Daniel's holy city? *Vitringa*, who follows *Theodoret, Chrysostom*, and *Jerome*, observes, "not

mine but thine, which is a proof of the indignation of God, as the sins of the people were not yet expiated." But by this explanation an element is introduced, which is altogether foreign to the context. The greater the blessings promised by the Lord to his people in this verse, the more incongruous would such a thought as this have been. It is much more correct, as *C. B. Michaelis* and others have shown, to explain the expression "thy" as alluding to the tender love towards his nation, to which Daniel had given utterance in the foregoing prayer. It was this affection, which impelled Daniel to intercede, and his intercession is described in ver. 23, as having given occasion to the revelation which he here receives. There may possibly be also an allusion to this in the expression "thy" (see chap. xii. 1).

"*To shut in transgression.*"

In לְכַלֵּא we have a combination of two different readings. The vowel points belong, not to the Kethib, but to the Keri. The proper punctuation of the former would be לְכָלֹא. That such an assumption is not generally inadmissible, the following remarks will sufficiently show. Whenever the difference between the received reading and the conjectural emendation was restricted to the vowel points, the Masoretes did not write in the margin the consonants of the latter, inasmuch as they were precisely the same as those of the former. They adopted other methods of indicating the existence of a double reading, and these methods differed according to circumstances.

1. Where there was nothing distinctive in the word itself, or in the context, to show that the vowel points written in the text were only the vowels of the marginal reading, and where, therefore, if they simply inserted the points of the marginal reading, without explanation, they would violate their own principles and make it appear as though no other reading existed, they gave the word a mixed punctuation compounded from the two readings. Examples of this may be seen in יִרְדֹּף, Ps. vii. 6; תִּרְצְחוּ, Ps. lxii. 4 (compare my commentary on these two pas-

sages). In the MSS. this combination of the two pointings is much more frequent than in the printed editions (see *Michaelis* Or. Bibl. 3. 236).

2. Where it could easily be seen from the context, or from the word itself, that the vowels did not belong to the reading in the text, the Masoretes placed them under the word without further explanation. We have an example of this in Ps. lix. 11. The reading in the text is אֱלֹ֣הַי חַסְדּ֣וֹ יְקַדְּמֵ֑נִי, "my God will overtake me with his kindness." The Masoretes wished to substitute אֱלֹהֵ֥י חַסְדִּ֗י יְקַדְּמֵ֑נִי, "my gracious God will overtake me." They did this at once by merely writing under אלהי the vowels of the marginal reading, because every one could see from the next word חַסְדּוֹ, that they did not harmonise with the reading in the text.—We have another example of this second class in the word before us. כלא is never met with in the Piel; hence, by giving the word the vowel pointing of a Piel, it was rendered sufficiently evident, that besides the ordinary reading, which the form itself sufficed to indicate, there was also another, in which the word was pointed as a derivative from כלא = כלה.

Let us proceed now to examine the different meanings to be obtained from the two readings. The various significations of the verb כלא all contain the idea of hindering, fettering, circumscribing freedom of movement. From this general notion, the more limited one of imprisoning, shutting in (*κλείω*, *clavis*, *claudo*) easily follows. We find this, for example, in Ps. lxxxviii. 9: "I am shut in, כָּלוּא, and cannot go out." In Jer. xxxii. 2, 3, בֵּית כָּלָא and בֵּית הַכָּלוּא both mean *a prison*. In the passage before us, commentators have mostly adopted the general idea of preventing iniquity. But the more special meaning "*to shut in*" harmonizes better with the verbs which follow, *to seal up and cover*. "Sealing up" presupposes a "shutting in."

There is no foundation for *Hitzig's* objection, that the expression would be ambiguous, since according to Hosea xiii. 12 to shut up sin might also mean to reserve it for punishment. כלא can only denote such a shutting up of sin, as is burdensome to it, and subjects it to restraint.

The marginal reading "to complete transgression," admits of a twofold explanation. It may either mean "to fill up the measure of sin (compare Gen. xv. 16; Matt. xxiii. 32, "fill ye up then the measure of your fathers,") or to put an end to sin. Assuming the correctness of the marginal reading, the latter would be in all respects preferable to the other. For, as we shall presently see, the whole verse treats of acts of mercy, and makes no allusion to punishment.

To the question, which of the two readings is to be preferred, we must declare ourselves unconditionally in favour of the reading in the text. The general relation, in which the marginal readings stand to those in the text, is an important argument in its favour. For on closer investigation, we find that the Keris without exception are nothing more than the conjectures of narrow-minded Jewish critics, and therefore have no more external authority than those of *Houbigant* and *Michaelis*.[1] And in this case, there is all the less reason to suppose that the Keri is founded upon any external authority, from the fact that the difference is confined to the vowel points. The Masoretes did not venture to substitute כלה for כלא, but contented themselves with expressing their opinion that the latter stood for the former in this passage—a mere exegetical opinion, which is not increased in value by the support which it apparently receives from the early translators, (viz., *Aquila*, *Theodotion*, and the *Seventy*, the two former rendering it *τοῦ συντελέσαι*, the latter *συντελεσθῆναι τὴν ἁμαρτίαν*), especially as it is so easy to discover its source. The expression "to fetter or shut in sin," which occurs no where else, was one to which the translators could not reconcile themselves; whilst the meaning *to finish* seemed to harmonise beautifully with what followed, whichever was adopted, the marginal reading or the text. For even those, who supported the latter, explained the expression "*to seal up*" as meaning "*to finish, put an end to.*" But what especially

[1] This was also the opinion of *Danz*, (Litter. Hebr. Chald. p. 67): non datur כתיב, quod exercitatis ac omnia accurate perpendentibus non pariat sensum commodum; quidquid huic sub nomine קרי quocunque praetextu superadditur, inventum est mere humanum et aliam penes me notam non invenit, quam interpretationis ut plurimum satis feliciter institutæ, subinde tamen temere et in ignominiam sacri scriptoris susceptæ.

favoured the marginal reading, was the desire of the Jews, as seen in their commentators almost without exception, to change the promises contained in this verse into threats,—a very natural desire, seeing that they were well acquainted with the punishments, which marked the termination of the seventy weeks of years, but not with the blessings, and therefore could not but be anxious to wipe out every reference to the latter. *Aquila* even substitutes for the rendering "*upon* thy people, &c.," *κατὰ* (contra) *τοῦ λαοῦ σου καὶ τῆς πόλεως τῆς ἁγίας σου*, and in perfect consistency with this, translates the following clause: *τοῦ συντελέσαι τὴν ἀθεσίαν καὶ τοῦ τελειῶσαι ἁμαρτίαν.*

Nothing but the strongest proofs could justify our assuming that the prophet used the verb כלא in the sense of כלה, since he frequently makes use of כלה, and always with ה (compare ver. 27, chap. xi. 36; xii. 7). Moreover, as a general rule, verbs with א much more frequently borrow from those with ה, than the reverse, so that there is no possibility of appealing to the frequency with which כלה borrows forms from כלא. כלה itself is never written with א. The proofs must therefore be limited to some internal reasons for preferring the marginal reading. But these are just as little to be found as the external ones. The expression to "shut in," to "seal up," and to "cover," harmonise so perfectly, that there is in this fact alone a decisive argument in favour of the text. The sin, which has hitherto lain naked and open before the eyes of the righteous God, will now be shut in, sealed up and hidden by the God of mercy, so that it may be regarded as no longer existing; a biblical mode of describing the forgiveness of sins, analogous to the phrases, "hiding the face from sin" "putting away sin."

"*And to seal up sins.*"

"*To seal up*" is regarded by many commentaries as a figurative expression for "finishing, or putting an end to." Thus *Theodoret: ἐσφράγισε δὲ τὰς ἁμαρτίας, παύσας μὲν τὴν κατὰ νόμον πολιτείαν, τὴν δὲ τοῦ πνεύματος δωρησάμενος χάριν.* Several of the early translators drop the figure, and express this idea in literal terms; but *Theodotion* retains the figure. Thus in the

Septuagint we find: *καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας σπανίσαι ;* and in *Aquila*, *καὶ τοῦ τελειῶσαι ἁμαρτίαν, ut consummetur praevaricatio.* That these renderings are traceable to the cause we have indicated, and not, as is commonly supposed, to any difference in the reading, is as clear as possible from the fact that, even in the case of the next verb חֲתֹם, where there is not the slightest trace of a various reading, the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* also drop the figure (*καὶ συντελεσθῆναι τὰ ὁράματα καὶ προφήτην, et impleatur visio et propheta*), whilst *Theodotion* gives the same literal version as before (*καὶ τοῦ σφραγίσαι ὅρασιν καὶ προφήτην*), which *Theodoret* explains, again without the figure, (*τουτέστι τοῦ δοῦναι τέλος ἁπάσαις ταῖς προφητείαις*).

The idea, however, that "sealing up" is equivalent to "puting an end to" cannot be sustained. The verb is no doubt frequently so used in Arabic, where the meaning has arisen from the very common custom of affixing a seal at the end of a letter or other written documents. (A large collection of examples may be seen in *Franc. Tsprengi's* dissert. de authentia selectiorum Kthibim, in *Oelrich's* collect. opusc. phil. theol. ii. p. 153 sqq.). But it is never used in this sense in Hebrew. In the only passage, which is ever cited as an example (Ez. xxviii. 12), the rendering given to חוֹתֵם תָּכְנִית, *perficiens, absolvens pulchritudinem*, rests upon a misapprehension of the meaning of the second word. According to chap. xliii. 10 תָּכְנִית means a *sketch*, or *model*; and therefore חוֹתֵם תָּכְנִית, "one who seals up the sketch," is one who has a right to lay aside the idea of its existence, because that idea is perfectly represented in his own person, in other words, he is himself a personified idea, an ideal. Quite in harmony with this are the words that follow, in which the king of Tyre is called "full of wisdom and *finished* in beauty." The figurative use of the word חתם in the Hebrew is derived entirely from the custom of sealing up, for the sake of greater security, any thing that had been shut up or laid aside. Thus in Job xxxvii. 7, God "sealeth up the hand of every man," he shuts it up so that it cannot move. In Job ix. 7 he is said to "seal up the stars," that is to shut them up so that they cannot shine. In Jer. xxxii. 11 and 14, a sealed book and an open book are contrasted; and in the same manner, a sealed fountain

is contrasted with an open one in Is. xxix. 11; *vid.* Song of Solomon iv. 12. In the book of Daniel the outward act, from which the figure is derived, is found in chap. vi. 18, where the king seals up the den, into which Daniel has been thrown; and the figure itself occurs in chap. viii. 26 and xii. 4, where the prophecies of Daniel are described as sealed up until the time of their fulfilment—a figurative representation of their obscurity. The opposite of this may be seen in Rev. xxii. 10 (see Dissertation on Daniel p. 175, 176 translation). Just as חתם is preceded in the present case by כלא, "to shut in," so is it preceded in chap. xii. 4 by סתם ("shut up the words and seal the book") and in Deut. xxxii. 34 by כָּמַס ("is it not hidden with me, sealed up in my treasures?"). Sin is described in this passage as sealed up, because it is to be entirely removed out of God's sight, taken completely away.

The marginal reading in the place of לַחְתֹּם is לְהַתֵּם ("to be completed," the Inf. Hiphil of תָּמַם), the vowel pointing of which is inserted in the text. It probably owes its origin simply to the ancient versions, in which the figure is dropped, and which were so thoroughly misunderstood, as to give rise to the notion that they contained the traces of a various reading. There was all the greater readiness to adopt this reading, because the form התם is actually employed in chap. viii. 23, to denote the termination of sin, apostasy; and, for reasons already assigned, there was a strong desire to assign this meaning to the words in the text. It maintained itself in its usurped position by the help of the equally illegitimate לְכַלֵּא, whose pretended legitimacy it served to strengthen in return. *Hitzig* and *Ewald* indeed adduced, as an argument in its favour, the fact that לחתם follows, which, they say, is sufficient of itself to render the Kethib suspicious. But this is turned into an argument on the other side, when we observe that the frequent repetition of the same words is one of the distinguishing characteristics of Daniel's style. Proofs of this may be obtained in great abundance from the eleventh chapter. In fact they may even be found in this short section. For example, the roots חרץ and שמם occur no less than three times. But even if this marginal reading, which is so thoroughly destitute of authority, were adopted, there would be no absolute necessity for attributing to the words a threatening meaning.

To finish sins *may* mean, to force them to a head, to fill up their measure; but it may also mean to put an end to them by forgiveness, and thus answer to the phrase to wipe away sin, מחה. תמם is used in this sense with reference to sin, *e.g.*, in Lam. iv. 22: "Thine iniquity is wiped away, תַּם־עֲוֹנֵךְ, thou daughter of Zion. . . . . But he will visit thine iniquity, thou daughter of Edom."

Instead of the plural חַטָּאוֹת there are not a few MSS. in *Kennicott* and *De Rossi* in which the singular חַטָּאת is found. But there is no reason for giving the preference to this reading, which probably owes its origin simply to an attempt to make the word more like פֶּשַׁע and עָוֹן. The singular פֶּשַׁע is met with in other passages along with the plural חַטָּאוֹת (*i.e.*, Micah i. 5), which may be explained from the fact that פֶּשַׁע, apostasy, rebellion, has more of the nature of a collective noun, whereas חַטָּאת relates more to some particular manifestation of sin.

On the other hand, even if the reading in the text be pronounced correct in both cases, as it should be, there is nothing in the words themselves to prevent our interpreting them in an evil sense. The punishment and extermination of the sinner might be described as the shutting in and sealing up of sin, just as well as the forgiveness of sin. Thus in Is. iv. 4, the "filth of the daughters of Zion is washed away and the blood of Jerusalem purged from the midst thereof," by means of the destructive judgments of God. Still, the following reasons are sufficient to show that this view is inadmissible, and that the expression must denote an act of divine grace, viz., the shutting in and sealing up of sin by means of forgiveness. 1. In the second part of the verse there is a triple blessing mentioned, which the Lord will bestow upon his church at the end of the seventy years. If, now, we interpret the first two clauses of the verse in a good sense, we find the removal of a triple evil answering to this communication of a triple good. There is all the more reason to believe that the two halves of three clauses each, are thus related to each other, because otherwise the use of the word חתם in the one case would not correspond to its use in the other, whereas the two are evidently closely connected, nor would it occur in each case in the second clause. The prophecies

are sealed up along with the sins, because the wiping away of sin, which is predicted in the former as the leading characteristic of the Messianic age, will now have taken place. This exact correspondence between the double use of the word חתם also serves to defend it in the first instance against the unfounded pretensions of the marginal reading.[1] 2. There can be no doubt that, if it is not allowable to separate the three terms descriptive of sin which are found linked together in other passages (Ex. xxxiv. 7 and ver. 5), it is equally unallowable to separate those employed to denote what will be done to sin, the "shutting in, sealing up, and covering over." In the latter case, in fact, it is even less allowable, since the three expressions are all figurative, and represent the same idea of removing a thing out of one's sight. Hence if it can be proved of any one of these, that it must necessarily be used in a good sense, the argument will be equally applicable to both the others. Now this is indisputably the case with כִּפֶּר עָוֹן, which is a very common phrase, and never means anything but the forgiveness of sins, the covering of sin with the veil of mercy, so that the eye of an angry judge cannot observe it. As every one must admit, there is nothing in the verbs themselves, to show that any contrast is intended; and therefore, if this were the case, it would surely have been distinctly expressed in some other way. For example, when *Hofmann* gives the following as the meaning of the third clause: "It is different with the transgression of believers, this is expiated," he shews by the turn which he here gives to the text, the form which it would really have assumed, if such a view had been admissible.—3. The declaration, contained in the first three clauses, is closely related to the various confessions of sin in ver. 5, and the prayer for forgiveness connected with them. It follows from this that, even if the last of the three were as ambiguous as the other two, it would still be better to interpret them in a good sense, since the angel

[1] Instead of dividing the verse into two halves of three clauses each, there are many who divide it into three parts of two clauses each. But the accents are decisive against this. The Sakeph Katon divides the three first clauses from the other three. *Hitzig* indeed argues that, if such a triple division really existed, the Sakeph Katon ought rather to be connected with וּלְהָבִיא. But, apart from the accents, it is evidently not allowable to separate in this manner the clauses which relate to sin.

would not have been likely to come so very swiftly (ver. 21), for the purpose of announcing to Daniel exactly the opposite of that for which he had prayed. It was the previous announcement of salvation, which alone served to divest of its terrors the prediction, that followed immediately afterwards, of the destruction of the city and temple. It now appeared as running parallel to the highest manifestations of mercy towards the faithful among the people of God, and so far as their connexion with the ungodly was thereby brought to an end, it also assumed the form of a manifestation of grace.

"*And to cover iniquity.*"

We retain the primary meaning of כִּפֶּר, because, even when it is employed to denote the forgiveness of sins, the ordinary construction with עַל and בְּעַד is still preserved, and the literal signification is thus clearly established; and also on account of the evident connection between the figure employed in this clause, and that contained in the two previous ones.

Some commentators imagine that there is a gradation in the expressions used in the three clauses, to denote the forgiveness of sins. But it is much more correct to adopt *Geier's* conclusion,[1] that we have here merely an accumulation of epithets, such as we find in Ex. xxxiv. 7, and Lev. xvi. 21. A gradation would require that the strongest term should stand last. But if we look closely into the meaning of the words, the strongest פֶּשַׁע is the one which actually stands first. It is applied to sin in its worst form, namely as apostasy and rebellion against God; and in Job xxxiv. 37 ("he adds iniquity to sin") it is contrasted with חַטָּאָה, as being the heavier of the two forms. The announcement of the forgiveness of sins differs, therefore, in this respect from the confession of sin in ver. 5, where there really is a gradation. The word מָרַדְנוּ, which answers exactly to פָּשַׁע, the first word here, is there placed after חָטָאנוּ

[1] "Tot hic accumulantur vocabula, ut tota peccatorum humani generis colluvies eo melius comprehenderetur."

וְעָוֹנִי. Nor can we even admit that there is a descent *a majore ad minus*, for in that case חַטָּאוֹת, which is applied to sin in its lightest form, viz. regarded as slipping, would be the third, not the second word.

"*And to bring everlasting righteousness.*"[1]

Righteousness, whenever it is referred to, not as a subjective attribute, but as a gift of God, always denotes the same thing from a positive side, as the forgiveness of sins from a negative. The latter implies that God, through his free grace, treats man no longer as a sinner; the former, that he regards him as actually righteous, from which it necessarily follows, that he *treats* him as a righteous man. Hence righteousness and salvation are frequently associated together, without the peculiar notion conveyed by the former being necessarily lost.—Righteousness, as a gift of God, is a thoroughly characteristic mark of the Messianic age. (Compare Ps. lxxxv. 11—14, where righteousness is said to look down from heaven, on the point of descending with blessings upon the people of God, and to go before God, when he accepts his people). In Jer. xxxiii. 16 it is predicted that in the days of the Messiah, Jerusalem will be called "the Lord our righteousness;" and in chap. xxiii. 6 it is stated that the Messiah himself will bear that name. According to Mal. iii. 20 the sun of righteousness, *i.e.* righteousness, which shines like a sun, rises upon those who fear God. Isaiah (chap. lxi. 3) speaks of the members of the kingdom of God as the terebinths of righteousness. The determining cause of this righteousness is pointed out in Is. liii. 11, where it is foretold that the servant of God, the righteous one, will make many righteous.—This righteousness is called an eternal righteousness, both on account of its origin in the eternal counsel of the eternal God, and also

[1] *Athnach* is placed under *Olamim*, to separate the first of the three positive clauses from the other two, and to link it more closely to the three negative ones, with which it is most intimately connected. One test of the correctness of the different expositions given of this verse, is to be found in the justice which they do to the Sakeph Katon in the previous clause, and to the Athnach here.

because of its eternal duration, in contradistinction to the transitory gifts of righteousness and grace under the Old Testament, and to every thing that is created and subject to decay. The same contrast is also found in several passages of Isaiah, where the eternal character of the righteousness and salvation of the Messianic age is expressly pointed out. For example, in Is. li. 5—8: "the heavens shall pass away like smoke, the earth shall get old as doth a garment, and the inhabitants thereof shall die like moths; but my salvation shall be for ever, and my righteousness shall not be abolished,—my righteousness shall be for ever, and my salvation from generation to generation;" and again in chap. xlv. 17, "Israel is endowed by the Lord with an everlasting salvation, ye shall not be ashamed nor confounded, world without end."

Our interpretation of these words is supported by nearly all the early expositors without exception, as well as by the ancient versions (*Sept.* καὶ δοθῆναι δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον. *Theodotion*, καὶ τοῦ ἀγαγεῖν δικαιοσύνην αἰώνιον. *Vulgate: et adducatur justitia sempiterna. Syriac, quæ ab æterno est*). Some, however, like *R. Bacharias* (in Breschit Rabbah on Gen. xiv. 18), understand by the eternal righteousness the person of the Messiah. The same error occurs in connexion with the son of righteousness in Malachi. But the error is one which relates to the letter more than the spirit, since the treasures of righteousness under the New Testament are contained exclusively in Christ. There is another explanation, however, essentially different from this, which several of the modern commentators have adopted from *J. D. Michaelis*, namely, "the old righteousness, the innocence of former, better days." But in the first place the whole tenor of the passage,—the extermination and expiation of sin announced just before; the sealing up of the visions and prophets, which, as we have already shown, relates especially to the forgiveness of sin predicted therein; the fact that the expression is associated exclusively with blessings to be sent down from God; the verb employed לְהָבִיא; and also a comparison of the parallel passages in Isaiah,—everything in fact favours the conclusion that the righteousness mentioned here is not a subjective quality, *morum probitas*, as even *Scholl* supposes (comment. de LXX. hebdomad. Dan. Frankfort 1829), but a gift of God like the צֶדֶק mentioned

in the passages already cited, and also in Ps. cxxxii. 9, "let thy priests be clothed with righteousness" (may they receive from thee, O God, the garment of righteousness), "and let thy saints shout for joy" (compare ver. 16). And again, just as in the passage before us, so in Ps. lxix. 27 the communication of divine righteousness is associated with the forgiveness of sins. 2. Particular prominence is given to the *eternal* character of the Messianic kingdom, and the blessings associated with it, in all the parallel passages of Daniel, in which that kingdom is described (compare ii. 44 and vii. 18, 27).

"*To seal up vision and prophet.*"

Commentators are for the most part agreed in the opinion that *sealing up* is equivalent to *fulfilling*, or *confirming*, and that allusion is made to the custom of affixing a seal for the purpose of adding validity to the contents of a document. It is evident from 1 Kings xxi. 8 and Jer. xxxii. 10, 11, 44, that such a custom existed. They also adduce as parallel passages Acts iii. 18, ("those things which God before had showed by the mouth of all his prophets, he hath so fulfilled, ἐπλήρωσεν"), and Matt. v. 17. The expression "to seal" is certainly used in this sense in Syriac (see, for example, *Ephraem Syrus* hymn. 80, adv. scrutat. opp. iii. p. 149), as well as in the New Testament, *e.g.*, John vi. 27 and other passages (see our comm. on Rev. vii. 3). But it is never so employed in the Old Testament. We have already seen that the sole metaphorical use of the word חָתַם is one which was founded upon the custom of sealing up any thing that was laid aside, or deposited in a place of concealment. Of course, this would not be decisive in itself, unless there were something else to confirm it. But there is all the more reason for retaining the established meaning in the present instance, from the fact that, as a general rule, it would lead to great difficulties to take the verb חתם in two different senses in the same verse; and this would be even more than usually the case in the verse before us, where it is evident from the arrangement, that the sealing of vision and prophet is closely connected with the sealing of the prophecy (see p. 110). The sealing

of the sins is accompanied by the sealing of the prophecies; and the latter is described in the prophecies themselves, as an act to be performed in the future. When once the fulfilment has taken place, *although in other respects the prophecy still retains its great importance*, yet in this respect it has answered its purpose, that the eyes of believers, in need of strength and consolation, are no longer directed to its announcements of a coming salvation, but to a salvation that has already appeared; that they now hold fast, not so much to the word of the Lord, as to the works of the Lord, and exclaim with Philip in John i. 46, "*we have found* him of whom Moses in the law and the prophets did write, Jesus of Nazareth the son of Joseph." According to this interpretation, there is a perfect parallel to our passage in the words of Christ, in Luke xxii. 37, "the things concerning me have an end" (the prophecies relating to my sufferings are now coming to an end); and in Matt. xi. 13, "for all the prophets and the law prophecied until John," on which *Bengel* says, "Now was everything completed, that had ever been predicted up to the time of John;" and also in 2 Pet. i. 19, "we have also a more sure word of prophecy, whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day star arise in your hearts." In the last passage we have the sense of two different interpretations combined, the current one and our own. The "word of prophecy" has derived greater certainty on the one hand from its fulfilments, but on the other hand it has lost its force, in consequence, as a ground of hope and consolation; just as the light of a candle, which serves but feebly and imperfectly to dispel the surrounding darkness, is only employed till the full daylight has dawned.[1]

The use of the singular (compare חָזוֹן, Is. i. 1; 2 Chr. xxxii. 32; Nahum i. 1; and *Kleinert*, über die Aechtheit des Jes. p. 11), and the absence of the article serve to show, that the words are used in their widest sense. This generality of expression

[1] In the objections, which have been brought against our explanations by *Steudel* (disquis. in locum Dan. ix. 24—27, Tübingen p. 29), *Lengerke*, and others, the fact is overlooked, that what prophecy loses in importance, from the one point of view, it recovers again from the other. The so-called heterogeneous idea, that the prophets are to be "abrogated," is undeniably expressed in Luke xxii. 37. The *law* and prophecy find alike in Christ, their end (Rom. x. 4) and their fullest interpretation.

may answer a double purpose. It may either indicate, that what is predicated of any object, applies to that object without exceptions, as in Ps. xxxvi. 7, "thou preservest man and beast" (see also Ps. lxv. 2 and lxxiii. 5); or it may simply be intended to represent indefinitely that which has really a limited application. An example of the latter we find in chap. xi. 14, "the sons of the wicked of thy people will exalt themselves, לְהַעֲמִיד חָזוֹן, to the fulfilment of prophecy," where the prophet speaks quite generally,—(חָזוֹן being employed in this passage also as a collective noun),—although he had really something definite before his mind, namely, his own prophecy. The point of importance in this case was not, that the event would contribute to the fulfilment of one particular prophecy, but that it would be subservient to the accomplishment of prophecy generally. The last-mentioned argument, in favour of the general character of the expression, is confirmed by the rest of the section, in which the article is omitted several times, in cases where it must necessarily have been inserted, if the expression had been as definite as the object referred to (compare for example מְשִׁיחַ, vers. 25, 26).—*Bertholdt*, *Wieseler*, *Hitzig*, and others explain the clause as meaning, "till the predictions of the prophet Jeremiah are fulfilled." But this explanation is untenable. 1. It rests upon the assumption that *sealing* is equivalent to confirming. For if this term be correctly understood, the only circumstances, under which such an explanation would be defensible, would be if חָזוֹן (the vision) stood alone. The addition of וְנָבִיא renders it altogether inadmissible; for how could a prophet be described as of no further use, simply because one single prediction of his had been fulfilled? But even if it stood by itself, the indefinite character of the expression would extend far beyond the limits assigned elsewhere, if the prophet had merely one particular prophecy of Jeremiah before his eyes. That we have here a violation of the rule, "the article is most indispensable, where reference is made to a person or thing, that has been mentioned just before," is a conclusion to which we should be justified in coming, only if the prophecy of Jeremiah had been mentioned so immediately before, that it would occur at once to the mind of any reader, and the indefinite character of the expres-

sion be thus removed ;—unless there were other circumstances connected with the passage, such as some striking resemblance between the prophecy of Jeremiah and the promises here given, which might serve as an indirect clue to the prediction referred to.—2. The καταργεῖν of the חזון and the נביא could not take place in any other way, than through the fulfilment of that which is here described, as about to be accomplished at the end of the seventy weeks, more especially the sealing up of sins, with which the sealing up of the vision and prophet was closely connected. This same prediction ought, therefore, to be contained in the prophecy or two prophecies of Jeremiah, to which the prophet is said to refer. But there is no trace of this in either of them. The twenty-fifth chapter contains nothing but a promise of the termination of the Babylonian captivity, and the twenty-ninth is restricted to an assurance of the return of the Jews and the gracious protection of God.

There can be no doubt, therefore, that we have here an allusion to the forgiveness of sins to be imparted in the days of the Messiah, the announcement of which runs through all the writings of the prophets (compare Is. liii. ; Zech. xiii. 1). And when this, the essential element in the work of Christ, had been accomplished, the prophecies, in this respect at least, could justly be regarded as abolished.

"*And to anoint a most holy (or holy of holies).*"

Those who explain the entire verse, as referring to the times immediately succeeding the return from captivity (for example, *Michaelis*, *Jahn*, and *Steudel*), regard these words as alluding to the dedication of the temple which was built by Zerubbabel and Joshua ; and several of those, who connect it with the period immediately following the oppressions of Antiochus Epiphanes, refer this particular prophecy to the fresh consecration of the temple, after it had been desecrated by the Syrians. In both cases מָשַׁח is taken to mean nothing more than dedication. For neither in the account of the building of the first temple, nor in the history of the second,—either when it was first built or after its desecration,—do we find the least intimation that the sanc-

tuary was anointed, as the tabernacle is said to have been (Ex. xxx. 22 sqq.). On the contrary, according to the unanimous tradition of the Jews (see *Lund* i. 29), the holy oil was entirely wanting in the second temple. In the case of the first temple, the anointing may have been omitted, because the sacred vessels, which had already been anointed, were transferred from the tabernacle to the temple. But there is one objection, which applies equally to both of these explanations. In both of them it is taken for granted, that קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים generally denotes the Most Holy place in the earthly temple; whereas this is invariably called קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים. The former expression, on the other hand, is always applied, not to the Holy of Holies, but to other objects, which were most holy in a sense of their own, as compared with the forecourt, &c., *e.g.*, the altar of burnt-offering and other vessels in the sanctuary. A glance at the Concordance will suffice to show that this distinction has been constantly observed. It is most marked, however, in Ez. xli. 4, as compared with chap. xliii. 12 and xlv. 3. The first passage treats of that portion of the new temple, which will correspond to the Holy of Holies in the first temple; and here קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים is used. In the other two the prophet speaks of the entire hill upon which the new temple is to stand, and describes it as *a* most holy place; and in this case קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים is employed. The only passage in which at first sight the latter expression, without the article, appears to refer to the Holy of Holies in the temple, is 1 Chr. xxiii. 13, "Aaron and his sons were set apart לְהַקְדִישׁוֹ קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים." *Vulg. ut ministraret in sancto sanctorum.* But a more correct explanation would be, "and Aaron was set apart to sanctify him as a most holy one, he and his sons for ever, to offer incense before the Lord, to serve him and to bless in his name for ever."[1] Another reason why the passage should not be explained as referring to the Holy of Holies, is that it is difficult to understand, why the prophet should speak of this in particular, and not rather of the whole temple.

[1] The explanation given by *Clericus*, "that they might consecrate the most holy things, the sacrifices and sacred vessels," is open to this objection, that the function, referred to, was of too subordinate a character to be mentioned here, especially to be mentioned first.

To overcome this difficulty some have assumed, that the whole temple is described as a Holy of Holies, in the same sense in which the author of the second Book of the Maccabees calls it "the most holy temple of all the earth," (v. 15), and "the great and holy temple," (xiv. 31). In support of the application of this expression to the entire temple, *Steudel* refers to Num. xviii. 10, "in the most holy place, בקדש קדשים, shalt thou eat it" (compare Lev. vi. 16, "in the holy place shall it be eaten, in the forecourts of the sanctuary"), and to Ez. xlv. 3. But although it cannot be denied, that קדש קדשים is applied in both these passages to the whole temple; it is by no means employed, as a name peculiar to the temple. Any such use of the term was scrupulously avoided, that there might be no ambiguity. Immediately afterwards the temple is called הקדש, as it is also in chap. viii. 14. In chap. ix. 17 it is called מקדש. In this case, however, not only would the unusual term "holy of holies" have been liable to be confounded with the "holy of holies," ordinarily so called, but there would have been nothing to distinguish it from the other things, which are also called *most holy*. It would be only by a mere guess, and without any foundation whatever, that the expression could be understood, as referring to the temple itself.

The latter argument may also be adduced, as a decisive reply to those who refer the term "holy of holies," to the altar of burnt-offering, whether that which was erected on the return from captivity (as *Wieseler* supposes), or that which was consecrated afresh in the time of the Maccabees (1 Macc. iv. 54 sqq.), as *Hitzig* assumes. The fact, that this altar is reckoned in Ex. xxix. 37 among the most holy things, is far from being a proof, that it could be designated here קדש קדשים without any further explanation. *Every interpretation, which is based upon a mere conjecture, must for that very reason be rejected.* As the ground covered by the term "most holy," is very extensive, and therefore the word itself is not sufficient to enable us to determine the precise object referred to, the only explanation, that can possibly be correct, is the one in which the exact meaning has been gathered from the context; and this is the more apparent in the present instance, since the sketch contained in these words

is more fully elaborated in the verses that follow. But there is no reference in these verses to the dedication of the temple and altar.

It is unnecessary for us to spend any more time in discussing the opinion, that the words refer to the period immediately succeeding the return from captivity, seeing that the supporters of this theory, by the forced manner in which, for the most part, they alter the text, bear their own testimony to the fact that it is untenable. The seventy weeks of years may be demonstrated with mathematical certainty to form part of the original text. For all that is necessary, in order to convince one's self of the correctness of the number, is to add together the smaller periods into which the whole is divided, 62 + 7 + 1. But if this is assuredly correct, how could the fresh consecration of the earthly temple be announced as an event which would not take place for 490 years?—We may proceed at once, then, to a consideration of the objections, which can be brought against the second interpretation, in addition to those already mentioned. 1. The outward dedication of the outward temple and altar is not in harmony with the other communications of divine grace, promised in the context. They are all of a spiritual nature; they relate to the wiping away of sin, and bear a Messianic character. Hence, even if we should determine to refer the section generally to the Maccabean era, we could not understand it as relating to a fresh dedication of the outward temple, a merely external work of man. On the contrary, we must assume that the prophet, by linking together the termination of religious oppression and the commencement of the Messianic kingdom, referred to something of far greater consequence than this. 2. It cannot be a fresh dedication of the old temple (or altar) at the end of the seventy weeks, that is here referred to; for in ver. 27 the very same period is indicated, as that in which the temple will be completely destroyed. 3. Such an assumption is exposed to insuperable chronological difficulties, since the 490 years stretch far beyond the period, in which the fresh dedication of the temple occurred.

By a very large number of expositors the words are interpreted, as referring to the anointing of the Messiah. There are three ways, in which this conclusion is arrived at. Many translate קֹדֶשׁ

קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים "the most holy one," or, what would be more correct, "a most holy one." This rendering was probably the one intended by the translators of the Septuagint (*καὶ εὐφράναι ἅγιον ἁγίων*) and by *Theodotion* (*καὶ τοῦ χρῖσαι ἅγιον ἁγίων*). It is very evident, that they could not have thought of the "Holy of Holies" in the temple; for the Greek translators invariably call this *ἅγιον τῶν ἁγιων, τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων*, or else *τὸ ἅγιον τοῦ ἁγίου* (compare *Tromm* concordance *s. v.*). Moreover, the word *εὐφράναι* employed in the *Septuagint* favours the idea that the noun is to be taken as a masculine. There is no absolute necessity for supposing, that this word originated in a various reading, שִׁמְחָה; on the contrary, it is probably nothing more than an explanation of the figurative expression, in accordance with Ps. xlv. 8, where the great king is represented as anointed with the oil of joy. There is all the more reason for coming to this conclusion, because, throughout the whole of the verse, the disposition of the *Septuagint* translators, to introduce such explanations, is everywhere apparent. *Theodoret* takes for granted that this interpretation is indisputably correct, and represents it as not even rejected by the Jews themselves: "to these again, he adds: 'and to anoint a holy of holies.' Who is this, the holy of holies? Let the Jews tell us; and if they cannot, let them learn of us, that this is the Lord Christ, who said through Isaiah, 'the spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me,' to whom David bore witness, &c., (Ps. xlv. 8)". There is the less difficulty connected with the view, held by the translators of the *Septuagint* and by *Theodotion*, from the fact that it can be proved from other sources, that the reference to a person, and the Messianic interpretation generally, were current among the Jews from the very earliest times, (compare the quotations in *Raim. Martini*, p. 285, *Carpzov*, *Schöttgen*, p. 264, and *Edzard* ad Abodah Sarah, p. 246, 247). In the Christian church this explanation was very widely adopted, especially through the influence of the *Vulgate*, "*et ungatur sanctus sanctorum.*" In the Syriac version it is even introduced into the text ("until Messiah, the most holy"). It is warmly defended by *Scholl.* At the same time, doubts were expressed at a very early period, as to its correctness. *Eusebius* (demonstr. viii. c. 2) observes, that he cannot find any passage in the Sacred

Scriptures in which the high priest is called *sanctus sanctorum*. And this argument in another form, viz., the fact that in the whole Bible קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים is never applied to a person, but only to things, is quite sufficient, without any thing farther, to overthrow this interpretation.

Others regard קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים as a neuter, and understand it as referring primarily to the Holy of Holies in the temple. At the same time, they look upon it as a type which is mentioned here in the place of the antitype, and appeal to those passages in the Old Testament, in which Jehovah describes himself as a sanctuary (Is. viii. 14; Ezek. xi. 16), and to others in the New, in which Christ compares himself to a temple. This explanation is adopted by *C. B. Michaëlis*, *Hävernick*, and others. But it is open to the same objections, as we have already brought against the interpretation, which restricts the reference to the outward temple, or Holy of Holies. קדש קדשים without the article, and without any previous allusion to the temple, cannot mean the Holy of Holies; it can only have the general meaning, a most holy thing.[1]

According to the third modification of the Messianic interpretation, Christ is here represented as a most holy thing. No objection can be offered to this explanation, founded upon the usages of the language. It is a matter of frequent occurrence for persons to be treated as things, in cases where the intention is to place them in the same category with impersonal objects (remember for example the *res sacra miser)*; and the passage already referred to (1 Chr. xxiii. 13), where Aaron and his sons are represented as set apart as a holy of holies, shows that this expression in particular, קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים, was applied to persons, though without losing its neuter signification. The word קדש, when it stands alone, is used quite as much in a neuter sense as קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים; and yet the High Priest wore upon his forehead the inscription קדש יהוה. With perfect justice, too, have the advocates of this interpretation referred to Luke i. 35, where Christ is described as ἅγιον ("that holy thing").

There can be no doubt that, as a question of *fact*, Christ may

[1] This remark may also be adduced, as an argument against the explanation given in our first edition, in which the words are referred to the church of the New Testament.

quite appropriately be designated a Holy of Holies. He is frequently called "the holy one" even in the New Testament; compare Acts iii. 14, iv. 30; 1 John ii. 20; Rev. iii. 7. But it is the context, which most decisively points to Christ, as *Blomstrand* has correctly observed. We have already laid stress upon the fact, that the expression "a holy of holies" is in itself an indefinite one. The more precise meaning can only be learned from the context. Now in the first five clauses there is nothing mentioned, which is not on other occasions associated with the Messiah;[1] and we have all the more reason to expect that at last the true centre, the person of the Messiah himself, will be introduced, on account of the completeness of the verse in itself. Again, the allusion to *anointing* also points to the Messiah. He had already been exhibited to the people of God in Ps. ii. as the *anointed one*. But what really decides the question is, that, in the following verses, in which the *sketch* given here is carried out into more minute detail, the person of the Messiah occupies so prominent a position, that it could not possibly be altogether wanting here. Moreover, in the notice of the anointed one in ver. 25, there is an unmistakeable allusion to the anointing of a most holy one in the verse before us. *The prophet there explains himself.*

We have already shown, that the *anointing* cannot be understood literally. Let us enquire, therefore, into the meaning of the figurative expression. In this enquiry we shall examine, first of all, the passages relating to the outward act from which the figure is derived, and afterwards those in which the figure itself occurs. The first class embraces such passages as Ex. xxx. 22 sqq., and xl. 9 sqq., where the Lord commands Moses to prepare holy anointing oil, and anoint therewith the tabernacle and its furniture, and the priests who performed service therein. The meaning of this symbolical action is most clearly explained in Zech. iv. The oil was a symbol of the Spirit of God; the anointing of the temple was a visible representation of the communication of this spirit to the church, which is thereby set apart, from everything that lies beyond the limits of the operations of divine grace, and sanctified. As *Calvin*

[1] *Blomstrand*: "*In illo solo omnis prophetia impleta est, ille justitiam aeternam introduxit, et culpam expiavit, illum cruci affigendo populi peccatum obsignatum est, scelus absolutum.*"

says: "the Spirit of God sanctifies us and all our works, because apart from Him we are unholy, and all that belongs to us corrupt." The outward holiness, which every one received, according to Ex. xxx. 29, by merely touching the vessels of the temple which had been sanctified by the oil of anointing, was a symbol of the inward holiness, of which every one is made a partaker, who enters into an inward and vital union with Christ and his church. The correctness of this explanation will be at once apparent, if we compare the other passages, in which the design of the symbolical act is clearly shown. In 1 Sam. x. 1 sqq., after Samuel has anointed Saul, he says to him, "truly the Lord hath anointed thee to be captain over his inheritance. . . . And the Spirit of the Lord comes upon thee . . . and thou art changed into another man. Then thou doest what thy hand shall find; for the Lord is with thee." What can be more plain here, where the anointing is placed in causal connexion with the communication of the Spirit, than that the former typified, what the latter secured;—that it was a seal and pledge of the blessings, which the Lord bestowed upon the rulers of the nation for his people's good? The same idea is expressed in 1 Sam. xvi. 12—14, where the anointing of David is recorded: "And the Lord said, anoint him, and Samuel took the horn of oil and anointed him in the midst of his brethren, and the Spirit of the Lord came upon David from that day forward. And the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul, and an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." Similar passages may be quoted from the New Testament. In Mark vi. 13, we read that the apostles "cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them in the name of the Lord;" and James says (v. 14): "Is any sick among you? let him send for the elders of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord." On the latter passage *Bengel* observes: "*Whitaker* says, 'let those use oil, who can procure health for the sick by means of their prayers; let those, who cannot, refrain from using a vain symbol.' The design of this anointing at first was to procure a *miraculous* restoration to health, and when this cannot be procured, it is nothing but a vain symbol." Even in this case, therefore, the oil was a symbol of the Spirit of God.—Let us pass on now to examine the pas-

sages, in which the anointing is merely figurative. On Is. lxi. 1, "the Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because the Lord hath anointed me," &c., *Vitringa* remarks: "unctio inferebat participationem spiritus sancti." In 1 Kings xix. 15 sqq., where Elijah is directed to anoint Hazael to be king over Syria, and Jehu to be king over Israel, and Elisha to be a prophet, the symbolical action and the figure are mixed up together in a remarkable manner; an evident proof of the little importance attached to the material form, even in the case of the former. Jehu and Hazael were actually anointed; the latter merely as a symbol of the divine power, which was to be imparted to him, as an instrument of divine justice, for the punishment of Israel. There is no account of any other prophet being anointed; and therefore, in the case of Elisha, the *anointing* must be regarded as a figurative term expressive of the communication of the gifts of the Spirit. In the New Testament the gifts of the Spirit bestowed upon the true members of the church, the "holy and royal priesthood" (1 Pet. ii. 5, 9), are called a χρίσμα (1 John ii. 20, 27); and the word *anoint* is used in Acts iv. 27, x. 38, and 2 Cor. i. 21, both alone and with the addition of the words "with the Holy Ghost," to denote the communication of the gifts of the Spirit to Christ and to believers.[1]

From what has been stated above, it follows, that the anointing of a Holy of Holies can only denote the communication of the Spirit to Christ, to which prominence is given in other prophecies of the Old Testament, as a distinguishing characteristic of the Messiah. (See the remarks on Is. xi. 1, xlii. 1, lxi. 1). This gift of the Spirit, which is described in Acts x. 38 as an anointing, "how God anointed Jesus of Nazareth with the Holy Ghost and with power," followed immediately upon the baptism of Jesus. We must not restrict it to this, however. The baptism must be regarded as merely the *commencement* of the anointing; for the baptism occurred at the end of the sixty-ninth week, or the beginning of the seventieth. But the blessings, referred to here, were such as would not exist in their full perfection till the

[1] With reference to the harmony between the figure and the fact, compare *Vitringa* on Is. x. 27, and my work on "Sacrifice," in which the point of resemblance is shown to be their softness and smoothness (gentleness), in contrast with the harshness of nature.

end of the seventy weeks of years; whereas the anointing of the Messiah at his baptism, if regarded as a single event and not like the others, as a progressive action, would be entirely separated from that particular point of time. It cannot be objected to this, that the sealing of sins, &c., so far as it was effected by the death of the Messiah, was also separated from this point of time. For although, objectively considered, the "finishing" certainly took place in the middle of the seventieth week of years; yet the subjective completion, the communication of the treasures of grace and blessings of forgiveness, which had been procured by the Messiah, did extend to the terminal point referred to; and thus, in ver. 27, the confirmation of the covenant to many is described as continuing throughout the whole of the seventieth week. The sealing of the visions was also not finished till then. For the prophets speak continually, not merely of reconciliation as an objective fact, but also of the personal appropriation of it by the people of the covenant. Hence the anointing must be regarded as continuing through the entire period of Christ's work on earth; and even the first Pentecost, and the outpouring of the Spirit generally, in the opening period of the Christian church, must be included within the scope of this prophecy. The church is anointed along with Christ its Head; compare 1 John ii. 20: "and ye have an anointing from the Holy One," and ver. 27: "but the anointing, which ye have received from him, abideth in you."

The anointing of a Holy of Holies is contrasted with the desolation of the sanctuary and the destruction of the wing of abominations, mentioned in ver. 26 and 27. The former sanctuary was destroyed, because it had become a mere shell without a kernel; for that, which made it a sanctuary, viz., the presence of the Lord, had departed from it in consequence of the guilt of the nation. But a new Holy of Holies was to be anointed in its place. What was said in Ex. xxx. 29, after the anointing of the tabernacle and its vessels had been commanded, "and thou shalt sanctify them and they shall become most holy, קדש קדשים, *every one who touches them shall become holy*," was now to receive in *this* Most Holy One a complete fulfilment.

Ver. 25. *And thou shalt know and understand: from the going forth of the word to restore and to build Jerusalem, unto an anointed one, a prince, are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks: the street is restored and built, and firmly determined; but in narrow times.*

"*And thou shalt know and understand.*"

We have already shown in the Dissertation on Daniel (p. 211, transl.), that וְתֵדַע וְתַשְׂכֵּל cannot mean "mark well," as most commentators suppose, but must be regarded as an intimation, that the announcement about to be made would not be easy to understand, but would require a well-skilled spiritual mind. (Compare the analogous expressions used by Christ, "whoso readeth let him understand," "he that hath ears to hear, let him hear," "whoso is able to receive it, let him receive it"). The words are evidently connected with the explanation given by the angel in ver. 22, with reference to the design of his coming.

"*From the going forth of the word.*"

There can be no doubt that מֹצָא דָבָר signifies the issue of the decree; just as, in chap. ii. 13, the command to slay the magicians is said to have gone forth. The only question, about which there can be any controversy, is: who is to be understood as issuing the command? A very large majority of commentators are of opinion, that reference is made to the decree of a Persian king; but we maintain on the contrary that the word which goes forth can only be a decree from God, or from the heavenly council. The following are our reasons. 1. The idea, that the term דבר is used here to denote the word of an earthly potentate, without any reference being made to such a word, directly or indirectly, either before or after, is exposed to great difficulties. Nothing is gained by referring to Dan. ii. 13, and Esther iv. 3. For in the first of these two passages, the author of the decree is mentioned in the preceding verse, and the decree has also been

already noticed; and in the second ("in every province, whithersoever the king's commandment and his decree came"), the verse itself shows, to what it is that allusion is made. In this case, however, the word must have gone forth from Him, by whom everything predicted in the entire prophecy, as about to happen to the covenant people, had been determined,—who had cut off the seventy weeks upon his nation,—and from whom the decree had gone forth respecting the ruins in ver. 26, and the final sentence in ver. 27. This is the more apparent, since He is expressly mentioned at the end of the verse (וְחָרוּץ), as the author of the decree to rebuild the city. 2. יֵצֵא דָבָר is applied in ver. 23 to a divine decree; namely, the decree that seventy weeks of years should be determined upon the nation. And in the case before us, where the expression occurs again with the same indefiniteness as to the agent referred to, simply because the whole narrative treats of Daniel's intercourse with the heavenly world, it is impossible, without an inward feeling of constraint, to come to the conclusion, that another agent is abruptly introduced as the author of a decree.

The "going forth of the word" is in itself an invisible event. But the effects come within the limits of the visible, and to this we necessarily turn, to see whether it is possible, by chronological calculations, made after the fulfilment, to convince ourselves of the truth of the prophecy. We must look to the effects, to learn when the "going forth of the word" took place. If the command of God was really issued, that which was commanded must actually have occurred. Hence the going forth of the word, with reference to the rebuilding of Jerusalem, must be assigned to that period of history, at which the work was first taken in hand with vigour and success. As the covenant people were then subject to the Persian king, we naturally expect to find an echo of the word of God in the edict of a Persian monarch. And thus we come very near to the exposition we have rejected, in which the passage is regarded as containing a *direct* allusion to such an edict.

"*To restore and to build Jerusalem.*"

The preposition *lamed* points out the object, to which the word refers.[1] There are various ways, in which הָשִׁיב has been incorrectly explained. 1. Several commentators suppose it to relate to the restoration of the people. But apart from the forced ellipsis, which this explanation demands, the connexion between לְהָשִׁיב (to restore) and Jerusalem is sufficiently evident from the word תָּשׁוּב, which is closely related to it, and which, like יִבָּנֵתָה, can only refer to רְחוֹב, the street.—2. Others, such as *Scaliger*, *Bertholdt*, and *Hofmann*, render the passage "to rebuild" (*Vulg. ut iterum aedificetur*), and maintain that, even in the Hiphil, שׁוּב is used to express the repetition of a thing. But we need only look at the one passage, which is brought forward as a proof of this, to convince ourselves that it affords no support whatever to this assumption, which is *a priori* inadmissible. The passage referred to is 2 Sam. xv. 25, "and the king said to Zadok, ***bring back*** the ark of the covenant into the city, if I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, וְהֵשִׁיבַנִי, he will *bring me back*, and show me both it and his habitation." הֵשִׁיב in this passage is transitive, as it always is, "to cause to return, to bring back." But what can we understand by causing a city to return, or bringing a city back? It denotes a perfect *restitutio in integrum.*[2] This is evident from Ezek. xvi. 55 and other passages, "and thy sisters, Sodom and

[1] This definite announcement of the object constitutes a fatal objection to the opinion, expressed by *Lengerke* and others, that "the word" here is the same as "the word" mentioned in ver. 2. The prediction of Jeremiah contained in chap. xxv., which is there referred to, does not announce the perfect restoration of the city, but threatens its destruction. The same may be said of *Hitzig's* opinion, that reference is made to the prediction in Jer. xxx. and xxxi. This song of Israel's deliverance does not relate exclusively or even especially to the complete restoration of Jerusalem. Moreover there is no precise period of time mentioned in the passage, and therefore it is not adapted for chronological purposes. If the Scriptures generally spoke, as *Hitzig* imagines that they do in this instance, if they left the expositor to mere conjectures, his vocation would really be a very unworthy one.

[2] *Rödiger* (in *Gesenius* thes.) says nothing about an adverbial use of הָשִׁיב, but gives the meaning, *restituit in integrum*. He cites as examples, not only this passage, but Ps. lxxxiv. 4 (in this he is wrong), and Is. i. 26, "I will *restore* thy judges as at the beginning," in which he is clearly correct.

her daughters, shall return to their former estate, תָּשֹׁבְנָה לְקַדְמָתָן, and Samaria and her daughters shall return to their former estate, and thou and thy daughters shall return to your former estate." (*LXX.* ἀποκατασταθήσονται καθὼς ἦσαν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς).[1] In ver. 53 there is an announcement to this effect, "I return to the captivity, שַׁבְתִּי אֶת שְׁבוּת, of Sodom and her daughters," &c., a phrase, which is *never* employed to denote the return of captives, but always without exception a *restitutio in integrum*,—(שְׁבוּת, captivity, being used figuratively of affliction) —and in this case the context shows that it can have no other meaning. (See the remarks on the passage itself).—In the passage before us the addition of לִבְנוֹת restricts the *restitutio in integrum* to one particular department. "To bring back and build," &c.; "bringing back to build;" or "building to bring back," to build the city again in its ancient dimensions: equivalent to the expression used by Jeremiah xxxiii. 7, "to build up as at the beginning." We may discover the essential importance of the idea contained in לְהָשִׁיב, which is added to the verb "to build," from the fact that תָּשׁוּב occurs again before the verb נִבְנְתָה.

The result which we obtain from such an explanation of the meaning of the word לְהָשִׁיב, is this: we must reckon the seventy years, not from the period, when the first miserable attempts were made to rebuild the city, but from the time when, according to the testimony of history, the rebuilding was commenced in such a manner, as promised to restore the city, and eventually did restore it, to very nearly its ancient dimensions and beauty. What follows is also in harmony with this. In the announcement of the destruction, not only is the temple mentioned along with the city in ver. 26, but in ver. 27 also. The fact that it is not mentioned here in connexion with the building of the city, but that only the streets of the city are referred to, presupposes that the temple had already been erected, and formed the commencement of the building here foretold. For it

[1] *Hofmann* renders this "to their former place," contrary to the usage of the language, and without giving the true sense.

is very improbable, that the angel should have omitted just the most important thing, the one which caused Daniel the greatest grief, and for which he had most earnestly prayed (*cf.*, for example, ver. 17, 20). At the same time, the existence of the temple was a proof, that the rebuilding of the city had already been commenced.

By many בָּנָה is supposed to mean *fortify ;* and certainly בָּנָה עִיר is frequently used to denote the fortification of a city. (For proof see *Gesenius'* Thesaurus, and *Winer s.v.*, but more especially *Michaelis*, Suppl. p. 190, and his commentary on Josh. vi. 5, where he shows that the same idiom is also met with in the Syriac). Not that the verb receives a new meaning; but partly because, in the case of a city already in existence, the building must necessarily have been restricted to the fortification of it (*e.g.*, in 2 Chr. xi. 5, בָּנָה לְמָצוֹר, and then in ver. vi. בָּנָה alone), and partly because the term city, in its fullest extent, involves the idea of fortifications. But, that this meaning cannot be applied here is evident from what follows: streets are built; and therefore it must be the interior of the city to which allusion is made. This explanation itself has arisen entirely from the desire to fix upon the time of Nehemiah, as the starting point; whilst a false interpretation of לְהָשִׁיב and תָּשׁוּב rendered it impossible to gratify this wish in a legitimate way.

"*Until an anointed one, a prince.*"

Several of the more recent commentators, such as *Bertholdt*, and before him *Hitzig*, explain this as meaning till *an*, or till *the*, anointed prince. But, as the earlier expositors unanimously affirmed, מָשִׁיחַ cannot properly be regarded as an adjective agreeing with נָגִיד; for the adjective in Hebrew is placed after the substantive. (See, for example, *Vitringa's* excellent treatise: de LXX. hebdom. Dan. observ. sacr. t. 2 p. 290). There are but few exceptions to this rule, and even in these the deviation is very slight; see *Ewald* § 293 b.

Of those who correctly regard מָשִׁיחַ as a noun, and נָגִיד as in

apposition, the greater number are of opinion, that the former is used here as a kind of proper name, with express reference to the Messiah. In support of this, they appeal to the absence of the article, on which they found an argument against the non-Messianic exposition. If we look merely at the word מָשִׁיחַ, the notion is a very plausible one. It is well known that, when appellative nouns are changed into proper names, they gradually lose the article; for the simple reason, that the individual referred to, being the only one of its kind, does not need to be distinguished from others. Thus עֶלְיוֹן is used as a name of God, frequently without the article; *e.g.*, Num. xxiv. 16; Num. xxxii. 8. And as the word צֶמַח is applied to the Messiah by Isaiah and Jeremiah in an appellative sense, with a more precise definition subjoined, whereas it is afterwards found in Zechariah as a *proper name*, without any such definition; so may מְשִׁיחַ, which occurs in the second Psalm as an appellative description of Christ, have been so commonly applied to the Messiah, as to acquire the character of a proper name. There would be the less difficulty connected with such an assumption, since we know that at a later period this was indisputably the case; compare, for example, John iv. 25, where the Samaritan woman says, "I know that Messias cometh (not the Messias), which is called Christ." But, however admissible this explanation would be, if מָשִׁיחַ stood alone, the addition of נָגִיד renders it clearly untenable. For this word cannot be regarded as a proper name, seeing that it is applied to a heathen prince in ver. 26. Hence it ought in such a case to have the article, "Messiah *the* prince," just as you find דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ, never דָּוִד מֶלֶךְ (see *Gesenius* Lehrgebäude § 172). We must, therefore, render it "an Anointed one, a Prince;" and, in accordance with the usual character of Daniel's prophecies, so expressly indicated in the words "thou shalt know and *understand*" at the commencement of the verse, we must assume that he purposely selected the more indefinite expression, and instead of speaking of the anointed one, *the* prince (κατ' ἐξοχήν), merely spoke of *an* anointed one, *a* prince. He evidently left his readers to obtain a deeper insight into his meaning from the general expec-

tation of the advent of a great king, to which earlier prophecies had given rise, as well as from the other statements in the context, and from the fulfilment itself, whose accordance with the prophecy would of necessity be all the more apparent in this instance, on account of the period being so definitely fixed.

That the connexion between these words and Christ is too close, for even the most prejudicial to deny it, is evident from *Bertholdt's* confession, that "it is very natural, though not absolutely necessary, to associate the idea of Jesus the Messiah with the expression משיח נגיד (an anointed one, a prince), and that of his death on the cross with the words in ver. 26, יכרת משיח ואין לו." For the present, we will keep out of sight the confirmation afforded to our opinion by the exact agreement in point of time, and confine ourselves to the evidence, which a careful enquiry would bring within the reach of Daniel himself and his contemporaries. 1. As we have already remarked, the blessings promised in the previous verse, viz. the forgiveness of sins, the introduction of eternal righteousness, and so forth, were among the characteristics commonly held up by the prophets, as those which would distinguish the Messianic era. If, then, in a description like the present, which is clearly an expansion of ver. 24, an exalted king is announced, who is to appear at the end of sixty-nine weeks of years, that is, shortly before the period fixed for the complete fulfilment of the promises made to the covenant people; how was it possible to come to any other conclusion, than that this king would be the author of those blessings, the Messiah, whom all the prophets had exhibited in that capacity?—2. The connexion between the two verses, 24 and 25, is more particularly indicated by the relation, in which the announcement of "*an anointed one*" in the latter stands to the words, "*to anoint* a holy of holies or most holy," in the former. For the express purpose of giving greater prominence to this connexion, לִמְשֹׁחַ קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים is placed at the end and מָשִׁיחַ before נָגִיד. Every explanation that has been thought of, except the Messianic, is precluded by the fact that the term "Holy of Holies," or "Most Holy," is altogether inapplicable.—3. Whilst נגיד does not hinder our referring the passage to the Messiah, since this term is expressly applied to the Messiah him-

self in Is. lv. 4 (see the remarks on that passage), and also to David the type of the Messiah in 2 Sam. vii. 8, and elsewhere :[1] like the corresponding terms שַׂר, Is. ix. 5, מֹשֵׁל, Micah v. 1, and נָשִׂיא, Ez. xxxiv. 24, the word משיח, which stands to נגיד in the relation of the particular to the general, most decidedly refers to him in the passage before us, notwithstanding the omission of the definite article. It serves to point out the נגיד more distinctly as a theocratic ruler; just as in 1 Sam. x. 1, ("and Samuel took a vial of oil, and poured it upon his (Saul's) head, and kissed him, and said: truly the Lord hath anointed thee as prince over his inheritance"), the anointing did not constitute Saul merely a ruler in general, but a theocratic ruler, who was furnished by God with the requisite gifts for the discharge of his duties as His representative. It is not true that any heathen monarch might have been called משיח, an anointed one. Such an assertion is opposed to the meaning of the symbol and the figurative use of the term, as already explained, and also to the usages of the language. In all the books of the Old Testament there is only one heathen king to whom the expression is applied, namely Cyrus, who is called "anointed" in Is. xlv. 1, not as a king merely, but on account of the remarkable relation which he sustained to the church (a relation unparalleled in history),—on account of the gifts, with which he was endowed by God for the good of the church,—on account of his possessing the first elements of the true knowledge of God, as his edict in the Book of Ezra clearly shows *(cf. Kleinert* on Isaiah, p. 138 sqq.),—and lastly on account of the typical relation in which he stood to the author of a still higher deliverance, namely the Messiah himself. There was a certain sense, in which Cyrus might be regarded as a theocratic ruler; and this is the light in which Isaiah represents him (see the excellent remarks made by *Vitringa* on Isaiah, *l.c.)*. It is

[1] The numerous passages, in which נגיד is used with reference to the king of Israel (1 Sam. xiii. 14, xxv. 30), prove that *Hofmann* is wrong in saying, that Christ is called משיח as king of Israel, and נגיד as king of the heathen. There is all the less reason, to give such a limitation to the meaning of נגיד on the ground of Is. lv. 4, since it is much more natural to refer to the numerous passages in the books of Samuel. The true explanation of the addition of נגיד to משיח is found in the relation in which the passage stands to ver. 26.

only in connexion with the whole description, given by Isaiah, that Cyrus is called an anointed of God; and it by no means follows from this passage, that the term could have been applied to him, apart from that connexion. Still less can it be inferred, that any other heathen king might have been called by the same name; when the only points, in which they resembled Cyrus, were such as did not constitute the reason of his being so designated.[1]—4. Apart from any evidence contained in the word itself, the context furnishes a proof that the *anointed* one was to be a theocratic, not a heathen, king. This proof is found in the evident antithesis between מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד, and נָגִיד הַבָּא in ver. 26. The general term "prince" is common to both. But to משיח (anointed), the specific term for a theocratic ruler, there is opposed הבא, "the coming one," *advena*, a term descriptive of a heathen prince. If then it is certain, for the reasons assigned, that the expression משיח נגיד could only apply to a theocratic king; who else could possibly be thought of but the Messiah himself, seeing that the whole period, from Daniel downwards, does not furnish a single person to answer to the description, and he was the only theocratic king who had been announced by the prophets, either at the time of, or after the captivity, as one who was yet to come?—5. The opinion expressed by *Wieseler*, that "an anointed one, a prince" means a High Priest (of the ordinary stamp), is quite inadmissible. No doubt, the High Priest is called the anointed *priest* in Lev. iv. 3, *cf.* v. 16, Ex. xl. 13, Lev. xvi. 32; but it does not follow from this, in the most remote degree, that משיח by itself could ever denote the priestly office. Kings were also anointed, and the addition of the word נגיד shows that it is to these, that reference is made; for this word always denotes civil rank, where there is nothing added to define it more precisely. That the expression "an anointed, a prince" does not indicate a *double* office is very obvious from such passages as 1 Sam. ix. 16, "and thou *anointedst* him *prince* over

[1] The case of Hazael has also been quoted. According to 1 Kings xix. 15, 16, he was anointed by Elijah as king over Syria. But it does not follow from this, that a heathen king could be called משיח without further explanation. The anointing had a purely theocratic signification, as we may clearly perceive from the fact that Hazael was to be anointed in conjunction with Jehu and Elisha. All three were to be the instruments of God, in bringing about a reaction against the prevalence of idolatry in Israel.

thy people Israel," and chap. x. 1, "the Lord hath *anointed* thee *prince* over his inheritance."[1]

Assuming, then, that the words "an anointed one, a prince" must certainly be understood as referring to Christ; the only question that still remains to be asked is, whether the point of time, alluded to in the prophecy, was his birth, or the period of his consecration as Messiah by the anointing from above. The latter is the opinion most commonly entertained by Messianic expositors.[2] And we must also decide in its favour. After the lapse of seventy weeks, the whole of the work of salvation to be performed by the Messiah, was to be completed. At the end of sixty-nine weeks, or rather, as we find from the more exact announcement in ver. 27, in the middle of the seventieth week, he was to be cut off. Since, then, according to this passage, sixty-nine weeks were to elapse, before the time of the Messiah, there only remained a period of seven years to intervene between his coming, and the completion of the work of salvation, and three years and a half between his coming and his violent death; a convincing proof that עד משיח referred, not to the birth of Jesus, but to the public appearance of the Messiah, who was in fact not really the Messiah until his baptism, not Christ but only Jesus (compare Peter's address in Acts i. 21, and Luke iii. 23).

"*Are seven weeks and sixty-two weeks.*"

The prophet divides the period, which is to elapse between the going forth of the word and the coming of the anointed one, into two parts. Sixty-nine weeks in all are to intervene. At the end of seven the city will be completely restored; and sixty-two more will pass before the anointed one, the prince, appears.

1 "*Onias* combined the two in his own person, the high-priestly and regal dignity, As an anointed one, *i e.* as priest, he is called Messias, and as a secular prince he bears the title of נָגִיד. Messias נָגִיד, therefore, means a priest-prince, or an anointed one, who is made a prince."

2 Compare, for example, *Petavius* (doctr. temp. l. 12. c. 33 t. 2 p. 264: "69 hebdomades desinunt in Christum ducem, non nascentem, sed in lucem apertumque prodeuntem, seque ad *οἰκονομίαν* et *κήρυξιν* accingentem, h. e. in baptismum ipsius, qui anno primo septuagesimae hebdomadis incurrit."

This was the explanation given by *Theodotion*, ἕως Χριστοῦ ἡγουμένου ἑβδομάδες ἑπτὰ, καὶ ἑβδομάδες ἑξήκοντα δυό; and the *Vulgate* renders it in the same manner, *usque ad Christum ducem hebdomades septem et hebdomades* 62 *erunt;* but the text of the *Septuagint* is in such utter confusion, that it is impossible to make any use of it. The Athnach under שָׁבְעָה has been appealed to in opposition to this rendering. According to *Marsham*, the accent shows that the two numbers are to be kept distinct, and the second of the two to be connected in the following manner with the succeeding clause, "from the going forth of the word to Messiah, the leader, are seven weeks; and in sixty-two weeks the street and wall shall be built again." But the theory, on which this assertion is based, that Athnach always stands where we should place one of the leading stops, is incorrect; and none have less right to lay any emphasis upon an accent, than men who so often set all accentuation at nought on the most trivial grounds. When the leading divisions of a sentence are self-evident, Athnach is not infrequently used, where we should place one of the smaller stops, merely to show that certain words are not to be connected. Thus, for example, in ver. 2 it stands under חֲסָפָרִים, whereas, according to the ordinary usages of the language, it should have been placed under חֲשָׁנִים; and so again in Ps. xxxvi. 8 we find it under אָדָם instead of אֱלֹהִים (compare Prov. vi. 26). In the present instance, however, the separation of the two periods was of great importance, namely to show that the seven and sixty-two were not a merely arbitrary division of a continuous period, but that each of the two periods had its own distinguishing characteristics.

Marsham's views have been adopted by the more modern anti-Messianic expositors. But the following reasons will suffice to show their fallacy. 1. His explanation takes for granted that the anointed one, the prince, was Cyrus; an assumption already disproved by the positive arguments, adduced to show that the Messiah is referred to. We shall notice it again more particularly by and by. 2. If the second number be connected with the words that follow, the only interpretation that can possibly be given is "for sixty-two years," or, "during sixty-two years *(Ewald)*, the streets will return and be built." But this is a

most awkward rendering. For how could the restoration of the streets, which was accomplished according to the testimony of history in a much shorter time—(and this testimony is of the more importance to our opponents, on account of their assuming that we have here a *vaticinium post eventum*),—how, we say, could the building of the streets be described as occupying the whole period of 434 years? This difficulty is tacitly acknowledged by many of our opponents, in the attempts which they make to get rid of it, attempts altogether at variance with the usages of the language. They maintain that the words וְשָׁבְעִים שִׁשִּׁים וּשְׁנַיִם are in the accusative, which very frequently denotes the period during, or within which anything has been accomplished; and hence they adopt the rendering "within sixty-two weeks." But *Ewald* has laid down this rule, "the accusative is employed to denote a period of time, when the entire period is occupied by the transaction referred to; but if the intention be to show, that an action was performed at some particular point within a longer period, בְּ must be used, like the ablative in Latin;" and the rule is so thoroughly without exception, when a lengthened period of time is referred to, that it is observed, notwithstanding *Ewald's* assertion to the contrary, even when the writer omits to mention the particular point intended. The passage in Genesis (xiii. 3), which is generally rendered "in the thirteenth year," has been set aside by *Ewald* himself, who says that it ought rather to be rendered "during the whole of the thirteenth year." The most plausible quotation is Jer. xxviii. 16, "this year thou shalt die." But it may very soon be perceived, that הַשָּׁנָה in this passage is one of the comparatively few nouns of measure, time, &c., which have acquired an adverbial signification through constant use, and corresponds exactly to עֶרֶב, בֹּקֶר, פָּתַח, בַּיִת, הַיּוֹם, and הַלַּיְלָה. The use of הַשָּׁנָה in the sense of "this year," not "all this year," as in Is. xxxvii. 30, was so thoroughly adverbial that it could not have been written with a demonstrative pronoun. הַשָּׁנָה הַזֹּאת was not admissible, and therefore, where the demonstrative was introduced, as in Jer. xxviii. 17, הַשָּׁנָה was followed by בַּשָּׁנָה הַזֹּאת. Among the nouns which had acquired the nature of

adverbs, we must include הַבָּאִים, literally "the coming ones," then "in future," Is. xxvii. 6. In a similar manner we can also say, this day, this hour, this week, meaning within either of these; but these seventy years could only mean during the whole of that period of time. Our opponents have only one other outlet left, namely to take שבעים ששים ושנים as a *nominative absolute*, thus, "and as for the sixty-two weeks, the street is restored," &c. This is the rendering suggested by *v. Lengerke* and *Hofmann*. But this explanation is also untenable; for in that case we should expect to find a suffix in the clause "the street," &c., to show its connexion with the sixty-two weeks (see *Gesenius* Lehrgebäude p. 723). There is also another objection to this rendering, namely that, in every other case in which a period of time is mentioned, distinct events are given, which either mark the termination of the period, or occupy the whole of it. Thus, for example, all the blessings promised in ver. 24 belong to the end of the seventy weeks of years. The same remark applies to ver. 27. How then could it be regarded as the characteristic feature of the sixty-two weeks, that the building of the city occurred at the *commencement?*

There can be no doubt whatever, that every interpretation is false, in which the two periods of seven weeks and sixty-two weeks are supposed to be distinguished by some feature common to both, or which leads to the conclusion, that the prophet might have written sixty-nine, just as suitably as seven and sixty-two. Such a supposition is altogether at variance with the general character of the whole prophecy, in which there is nothing superfluous and not a word without meaning; but a special reason for rejecting it is found in the analogy between this announcement, and all the other periods of time referred to in the prophecy. In the case of all the rest, there is some particular event named, which will be fully completed by the time that the period referred to comes to an end. Thus, at the expiration of the seventy weeks, we find the bringing in of everlasting righteousness and the forgiveness of sins; at that of the sixty-two weeks, the appearance of the Messiah; to the end of the seventieth week there is assigned the complete establishment of the covenant, and to that of the first half, the abolition of sacrifice. Hence, we cannot agree with *Auberlen* (der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis, p.

133), who says "it must be admitted that there is no fact mentioned in the text, as marking the termination of the first seven weeks; but prominence is given to them, merely as forming the introductory portion of the period of restoration." We gain nothing from such a quasi-division; especially as there is nothing in the text to sustain it, but, on the contrary, it rests upon mere conjecture, which ought to be renounced altogether, wherever the interpretation of the Scriptures is concerned. Moreover, the mere fact that such a division exists, and also the Athnach, by which this division is strongly accentuated, are both at variance with such an explanation; but most of all the expression "after threescore and two weeks," with which the next verse commences, and instead of which, according to *Auberlen's* hypothesis, we should expect to find "after threescore and nine weeks."

"*Restored and built is the street, and firmly determined; but in narrow times.*"

These words must relate to the first of the two periods, mentioned in the preceding clause. For as every one of the periods named must necessarily have a distinctive mark, and the appearance of the Messiah is selected as that of the second period, what remains for the first, but the complete fulfilment of the command, which forms the starting point of the entire period of sixty-nine weeks? We have, therefore, in this clause merely an express announcement of what might be inferred from preceding statements; and there is the less reason to regard the words as indefinite, since the 26th verse contains a further expansion of what had already been said, as to the distinguishing characteristic of the second period. Hence the expression, "*the* threescore and two weeks," is sufficient to show that the preceding clause relates to the seven weeks. In addition to this, sixty-nine and sixty-two weeks of years are both of them very improbable periods for the building of a city. On the other hand, a period of seven weeks of years would have in its favour some remarkable provisions in the law itself. According to the Mosiac decrees, the year of praise or jubilee, the welcome period of restoration to all the wretched, returned at the end of every seven

weeks of years; compare Lev. xxv. 8, "and thou numberest *seven weeks of years* unto thee . . . (ver. 10) and ye return every man unto his possession, and ye will return every man unto his family. . . . (ver. 13). In this jubilee year ye shall return every man unto his possession." Hence the question asked by *von Lengerke*, "what right have we to refer the words 'restored and built is the street' to the first seven weeks, and to regard this as constituting their peculiar characteristic?" is evidently quite uncalled for. The first peculiarity of the seven and the sixty-two weeks is noticed in this verse; the second in the verse which follows. Now the latter refers to the termination of the sixty-two weeks; and therefore the former must certainly point out the characteristic of the seven weeks. This is sufficient in itself to decide the whole question. Everything else is merely accessory. The seven weeks evidently embrace the period, which intervened between the going forth of the word to restore and build Jerusalem (in other words, the time when the work of building was seriously taken in hand), and its complete accomplishment.

That תָּשׁוּב is not used adverbially, as many suppose, but denotes the restoration of the city to its former condition, may be inferred from the evident reference to לְהָשִׁיב in a previous clause. The mention of *building* shows very clearly that, of the only two meanings ever given to רְחוֹב, "street" and "public place," the former is the one intended here. Other explanations, indeed, have been suggested, but they are based so entirely upon arbitrary conjecture, as not even to deserve to be mentioned. *Hassencamp* (über die 70 Wochen p. 64 sqq.) supposes that בִּנְיָה is used figuratively, with the meaning, "to restore;" but the evident allusion to the previous לִבְנוֹת, which can only be taken in a literal sense, shows that this cannot be the case. The explanation to which *Cocceius* is still so much attached, "*aedificabitur quoad forum*," must also be rejected. For although the construction is not infrequently met with; in the present instance it is not admissible. רחוב is feminine, and therefore would naturally be regarded as the subject; and, if this is not the case, Jerusalem ought to be expressly named, particularly as it is not mentioned immediately before. The description is said to be

enigmatical, but it is nowhere *ambiguous*; on the contrary, it always furnishes the clue to a safe interpretation. *Wieseler* thinks that the street is not the most important thing connected with the building of a city, and therefore that רחוב cannot be the subject. But we may see from the names Rechoboth Ir and Rechoboth Nahar, in Gen. x. 11 and xxxvi. 37, that the street was really regarded as the leading characteristic of the city (compare *Kirjath Chuzot*, city of streets, equivalent to *Strassburg*, in Num. xxii. 39). רְחוֹב is used in the singular and without the article, to show that the word is employed in its widest sense.

Modern expositors generally link together וְחָרוּץ and רְחוֹב. In this they follow the early translators, who evidently adopted this combination in the hope that it would help them to solve the meaning of the former word; (LXX.: *καὶ ἀνοικοδομηθήσεται εἰς πλᾶτος καὶ μῆκος. Theodotion: πλατεῖα καὶ τεῖχος. Vulgate: platea et muri*). Thus, for example, *Jahn* derives the meaning *platea angustior* from the supposed connection; *Steudel* renders the word, "rampart;" *Ewald*, "a pond;" *Hofmann*, "an enclosed space;" *Hitzig*, "a court-yard." But all these meanings are purely imaginary; and the mode of exposition adopted is sufficiently condemned by the variety of the results arrived at. Some refer to the Chaldee חריץ, to which they attribute the meaning "*a trench.*" But *Michaelis* has already shown (Suppl. p. 951) that חריץ does not mean "*trench*" at all, but "*aqueduct;*" and, as he says, there was not much need of trenches at Jerusalem on account of its situation. However, the question is sufficiently decided by the fact that you cannot speak of *building* trenches; and there is no ground for calling in the help of the Chaldee, unless it can be shown that חרץ is not to be met with in the Hebrew with a suitable signification. *Hassencamp*, who sought to prove that חָרוּץ meant "*a place of judgment,*" gained nothing by confining his attention to Hebrew usages (l. c. p. 66 sqq.); for neither the form of the word, nor its ordinary signification, allows of such a reference, and the idea of *building* at once precludes it. Still he deserves credit for having recalled attention to the usages of the Hebrew language. According to these, וְחָרוּץ cannot mean any thing else than "it is cut off,

firmly determined."[1] The meaning of the root חָרַץ has been admirably traced out by *Schultens* (on Proverbs xxii. 5). The radical signification is "to cut," "to cut off;" and from this comes the secondary meaning of careful and precise "appointment" and "determination." It occurs in the latter sense in 1 Kings xx. 40: "so is thy judgment, אַתָּה חָרַצְתָּה *tu decidisti, secante velut acie.*" The passive participle חָרוּץ is used in Job xiv. 5, with the meaning "*firmly determined:*" אִם חֲרוּצִים יָמָיו, "when his (man's) days are cut off;" and in Is. x. 22, כָּלָיוֹן חָרוּץ, "completion is cut off (determined upon) by an irrevocable decree." In Joel iii. 14 עֲמֶק הֶחָרוּץ is applied twice to the place, where the multitudes of people are to assemble, and where the day of the Lord will be held; and if we compare ver. 2 and 12, where the same place is called "the valley of Jehoshaphat of the Lord's judgment," we shall see that it does not mean, as *Credner* supposes, "valley of the threshing machine," but, as the *Septuagint* renders it, τῆς δίκης, valley of judgment, of the *sententia praecisa* and *absoluta.* All doubt, as to the word being used in a similar sense in the passage before us, is completely removed by the fact, that חרץ occurs twice in this prophecy, in the sense of cutting off, firmly and irrevocably determining, (compare the word נחתך in ver. 24).

והחרוץ is very properly separated by the accents from the words that follow, and more closely connected with the preceding clause: "and determined, (viz., what has just been stated, that the street shall be built); and (= but it will be built) in narrow times." והחרוץ is by no means parenthetical. Those, who explain it thus, overlook the fact, that the expansion of the more concise term serves to connect נבנתה with the last clause.

The two expressions "determined" and "narrow times," served to anticipate two objections, which might have disquieted the minds of pious Israelites. According to appearances there was no prospect whatever of a return, much less of the rebuilding of

[1] *Steudel* thinks that, in this case, we should be sure to find והרוא. No doubt we should, if clearness of expression were aimed at; but not where the greatest brevity is sought for, as in the case before us.

the city in its former dimensions. And when the return of the Jews had really taken place, a whole series of years had passed by, with nothing in the circumstances, in which they were placed, to afford the least hope of the restoration of the city. On the contrary, the Jews were obliged to content themselves with an open space, of comparatively small extent. What could be more natural than the idea, that the promise of the Lord had only been a *conditional* one, and that the sins of the nation had caused it to be revoked? The prophet guards against any such idea, by the forcible word חָרוּץ (determined).—Another difficulty would be sure to arise from the fact, that, even when the promise had been fulfilled, the circumstances of the people were anything but glorious. This might easily give rise to doubts as to the omnipotence of God, of which we have so glaring an example in the words of the wicked, as quoted by Malachi. But this difficulty could be met by the proof, contained in the expression וּבְצוֹק הָעִתִּים (and in narrow times), that the *augustia temporum* did not exist without the knowledge and will of God, that his plans had not been frustrated, but that all had been foreseen and predetermined.

A historical exposition of the words "in narrow times" is found in Neh. ix. 36, 37, "we are servants this day" and so forth. Even the building of the walls was not effected without great opposition. Every one who took part in the work, had his sword "girded by his side," Neh. iv. 18.

Ver. 26. "*And after the sixty-two weeks an anointed one will be cut off; and there is not to him; and the city and the sanctuary the people of a prince, the coming one, will destroy; and it will end in the flood, and to the end there is war, decree of ruins.*"

"*And after the sixty-two weeks an anointed one will be cut off.*"

The distinguishing characteristic of the seven weeks having been already given, the prophet now proceeds to a further explanation of the circumstances connected with the coming of the

anointed one, the prince, whose appearance he had already described in ver. 25, as occurring at the end of the sixty-two weeks, which would follow the seven weeks.

נִכְרַת denotes a violent death, when used without any further explanation, such as we find, for example, in the frequently recurring phrases נִכְרַת מֵעַמּוֹ (cut off from his people) and מֵעֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל (from the congregation of Israel), which have no connection with this passage. It is a standing expression for the fate of the ungodly (cf. Ps. xxxvii. 9, Prov. ii. 22), which is constantly pictured as violent and sudden; to show, as conspicuously as possible, that it is attributable to a supernatural cause. In the passage improperly quoted by *Steudel* and *Hofmann* from the first Book of Kings (viii. 25), there is a more precise explanation given, to what the expression "cut off" applies; but where this is not the case, we must conclude that it refers to the one thing, which most naturally occurs to the mind, namely *life*.

The word מָשִׁיחַ is intentionally left indefinite, without any article to show its identity with the מָשִׁיחַ וְנָגִיד above, in perfect accordance with the character of the whole prophecy. It was the more natural to leave it so, because an attentive and unprejudiced reader could easily gather from the context, that such an allusion was intended. As מָשִׁיחַ (anointed) was sufficient in itself to show that a king of Israel was referred to, and as this is confirmed by the following clause, in which he is contrasted with a prince, the coming one, it was impossible to think of any other than the Messiah, since he is the only king of Israel mentioned in prophecy, as coming after the period of the captivity. The "anointed," the "prince," was to appear at the end of the sixty-nine weeks. Of whom, then, but of Him, was it possible to think, when it was announced, in this more expanded account, that the violent death of an anointed one would take place at the expiration of the seven and the sixty-two weeks? A causal connexion is traced in this verse between the death of the anointed one, and the demolition of the city and temple; just as a similar connexion was pointed out in ver. 25 between his appearance, and the communication of all the blessings promised in ver. 24. How could it fail to be perceived

that, as both blessings and curses belonged to the same period, they had also the same author, and that the cause of the latter was to be found in the violent death, which is here announced, of the very same anointed one, who was to bring the fulness of blessing, and who actually did bring it to those who received him, and allowed him to confirm the covenant with them? The reference, too, is all the more apparent, because the violent death of the Messiah was predicted by Isaiah, before the time of Daniel, in chap. liii., where the perfectly analogous expression is found in ver. 8, "he has been cut off from the land of the living." It was also declared at a later period by Zechariah (chap. xii. 10). When once the prophecy had been fulfilled, all uncertainty was changed into a crime, since this statement with reference to the years was always at command, to secure its removal.

According to *Steudel* and *Hofmann* the anointed one mentioned here is an ideal person; and the meaning of the announcement is "the dignity of the anointed will come to an end." But the fallacy of this is shown not merely by the expression "cut off," but also by the fact that *that there was no office in Israel, to which the name of "the anointed" was applied*, and the practice of anointing was not restricted to one particular office. The word משיח is unintelligible when taken by itself; its meaning can only be learned from its connexion with משיח נגיד in ver. 25. At all events, on account of the relation in which it stands to the latter, it must necessarily refer to one particular person. Moreover the "prince the coming one," contrasted with him, is an individual. And lastly, such an interpretation is irreconcileable with the words which follow, ואין לו.

"*And there is not to him.*"

The different explanations, that have been given of these words, may be divided into two classes; the first embracing those in which an attempt is made to obtain a meaning, without assuming an ellipsis; the second, those in which the existence of

an ellipsis is taken for granted. We shall first examine the former of these. In opposition to the whole of them we maintain the *thesis*: אַיִן never has any other meaning than "*nonentity*" or "*it is not*;" אֵין always means the latter. It is impossible, therefore, to put any meaning into the words, which they will really bear, without assuming an *ellipsis*. 1. The rendering "*et non sibi*" was very generally adopted in the ancient church. *Vitringa* says: "not for his own sake, so much as for the sake of others, namely the elect and believers, who will enjoy the fruit of his death." But this rendering must be rejected, for the simple reason that אֵין was never interchangeable with לֹא, either in the earlier or later period of the language; on the contrary, there is always this marked distinction between them, that whilst לֹא is a simple negative, אֵין is the negation of existence. This will be at once apparent, if we look closely at all the passages, which *Gesenius* has quoted in his Lehrgebäude (p. 830) and in the *Thesaurus* (s. v.), as proofs that אֵין and לֹא are interchangeable. In Ex. iii. 2, וְהַסְּנֶה אֵינֶנּוּ אֻכָּל, the suffix at once prevents us from thinking of an interchange of אֵין and לֹא. For how could a simple negative take a suffix? אֻכָּל is not a preterite, but a Pual participle, with the מ wanting; a form, of which the greatest number of examples occur in this conjugation. In Jer. xxxviii. 5 כִּי־אֵין הַמֶּלֶךְ יוּכַל אִתְּכֶם דָּבָר is not to be rendered "for the king cannot do anything against you;" but, as the accents show, and as *Kimchi*, *Cocceius* and *Michaelis* have rendered it, *non est rex is, qui possit apud vos, vel contra vos quidquam*, which is a much more forcible expression, and holds up more prominently the impotence of the king. It is also favoured by the order of the words, "for *not* is the king he," in which there is a contrast implied between the case as it really stood, and as it would naturally have been expected to stand. In Job. xxxv. 15, וְעַתָּה כִּי אַיִן פָּקַד אַפּוֹ is not to be rendered "but now, when his anger had not visited;" especially as the absolute אַיִן is used. The true rendering is, "and now, because it is not, his anger punishes, and he turns not much to the proud." "Because it is not" means there is none

of that fervent waiting upon him, which the speaker had urged upon Job in the previous verse, and had held up before him as his duty.[1] In Ps. cxxxv. 17 and 1 Sam. xxi. 9 the notion of existence, which is already contained in אֵין, is still further strengthened by יֵשׁ, in a manner perfectly analogous to the custom of rendering the verbal notion more emphatic, by placing the infinitive before the finite tense; אַף אֵין יֶשׁ־רוּחַ בְּפִיהֶם is equivalent to הָיֹה לֹא תִהְיֶה &c., "there is no breath at all in their mouth." וְאֵין יֶשׁ־פֹּה תַּחַת־יָדְךָ חֲנִית means, "hast thou then no spear *at all?*" This grammatical proof, which is decisive in itself, is confirmed by the fact, that the rendering is unsuitable. For who is cut off for his own good? It would be very different if לוֹ could be made to bear the meaning "on his own account." In that case a merited death, brought upon a man by himself, would be opposed to death, submitted to for the sake of others; and we might then refer to Is. liii. where such prominence is given to this idea.—2. Others render the words, "and nothing is to him." On this *Cocceius* says: "his disciples will be scattered . . . a crowd of wicked men will surround him;" and *Gousset*, "he is in want of everything." But the meaning *nothing*, so commonly assigned to אַיִן and אֵין in lexicons and commentaries, is a pure invention. It expresses the negation, not of *quiddity* but of *entity*. If any one is desirous of obtaining further information as to this distinction, which is expressed in every language, he may find it in Aristotle's Metaphysics. We will also examine the passages, which are ordinarily adduced in support of this second rendering. Is. xli. 24, אַתֶּם מֵאָיִן does not mean, "ye are less than nothing," but, "ye are of nonentity," ye belong to the sphere of non-existence; and so also the meaning of the first clause in chap. xl. 17 is not "all nations are as nothing," but they are "as nonentity," as though they did not exist before him. Psalm xxxix. 5: "my life is as non-existence before thee."—In Haggai ii. 3, where the insignificance of the new temple,

[1] *Cocceius* says: *homo in examen venit, ut probetur ejus spes et patientia. Quando illa non exstat, invadit ira ejus, qua odit et amolitur peccatum, etiam in iis quos salvos vult.*

when compared with the former one, is referred to, הֲלֹא כָמֹהוּ כְּאַיִן בְּעֵינֵיכֶם, is much more correctly rendered, as it has been by the more modern expositors, and was first of all by *Jerome*, "non talis est ista, quae cernitur, ut quodam modo non esse videatur?" "is it not as if it did not exist?" Ex. xxii. 3: "he (the thief) shall make compensation for it (that which he has stolen); אִם אֵין לוֹ, he shall be sold as a compensation for what he had stolen." In this case we can see at once, from the context, what has to be supplied; viz., "if there be not to him the means of making compensation."—2 Chr. v. 10, אֵין בָּאָרוֹן רַק שְׁנֵי הַלֻּחוֹת. If אֵין בָּאָרוֹן stood alone here, it could no more mean there was *nothing* in the ark, than לֹא הָיָה. The ellipsis, "*any thing else*," is apparent from the antithesis. The same may be said of 2 Kings xvii. 18: לֹא נִשְׁאַר רַק שֵׁבֶט יְהוּדָה לְבַדּוֹ. We should have just as much right to infer from this passage, that לֹא means *nothing*, as to attribute this meaning to אֵין, on the ground of the passage mentioned before.—In Ps. xix. 7, אֵין נִסְתָּר evidently means, "there exists no hidden thing," and not "there is nothing hidden," as *Gesenius* renders it.—Ex. viii. 10, אֵין כַּיהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ is translated by *Gesenius* "nihil est sicut Jehova deus noster" (there is nothing like Jehovah our God); but the contrast implied shows clearly enough, what has to be supplied to the words "there is not as the Lord our God." The rendering *nothing* is quite unsuitable, for the God of Israel is expressly contrasted with the *gods* of other nations (compare chap. ix. 14). Hence אֵין is never used in the sense of *nothing*, any more than יֵשׁ in that of *something*. Who would think of maintaining, that the Arabic ليس might also be used in the sense of "there is nothing?" Or who would venture to affirm, that we not infrequently used the words existence and non-existence for something and nothing?—3. Others again, like *L'Empereur* (ad Jacchiad. p. 191), and before him *Hitzig*, adopt the rendering, "and there is no one to him." But אֵין is only used in the sense of *nemo*, *nullus*, when the person alluded to is mentioned afterwards; *e.g.*, "there is no one making afraid," אֵין מַחֲרִיד. It does not follow from this, however, that

אֵין means *no one*; the *one* is implied in מַחֲרִיד. And this remark is applicable to all the examples quoted by *Gesenius*. For instance, 1 Sam. ix. 4: "They went through the land of Shaalim וְאֵינֶן and they were not;" not "there was not one." The subject (the asses) is omitted, to give conciseness to the style; just as we find the object omitted in both instances after לֹא מָצָאוּ (they found not). But, of course, such an omission was only possible, when the subject or object had been previously mentioned (what they did not find must of necessity be what the author had just said that they were looking for, viz., the she-asses); and therefore it has no bearing upon the passage before us. If the prophet had intended to use the word in the sense referred to, he would have written אֶחָד after אֵין, as he has in chap. x. 21, וְאֵין אֶחָד מִתְחַזֵּק עִמָּדִי.—4. *Ch. B. Michaelis*, *Sostmann*, and *Hävernick*, explain the words thus: *non erit sibi, non amplius inter viventes reperietur*. But אֵין never includes the idea of a person. It does not mean "*he* is not," but "*it* is not." If this had been the meaning intended, the word employed must necessarily have been, not אֵין, but אֵינֶנּוּ, which we find in the passages quoted as parallel; *e.g.*, Gen. v. 24. Besides, the dative of the pronoun could only be properly employed (to show that the thing mentioned, whether an action or a passion, related to the subject) in cases where the whole passage was of a peculiarly subjective character (compare, for example, Ez. xxxvii. 11); but not in such a passage as the present, where everything is so rigidly objective.—5. *Hitzig* supposes that אין לו stands simply for "he is not." What will not men do, to get rid of a difficulty!

It is clearly demonstrated then, that the words are not complete in themselves, and therefore that something must be supplied. All the early translators, without exception, were convinced of this. There was not one of them, who adopted any of the erroneous views as to the meaning of אֵין, to which we have just alluded. The only point in which they differ is, that they either copy the indefinite phraseology of the original, as *Aquila* (ἐξολοθρευθήσεται ἠλειμμένος καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ), *Symmachus* (ἐκκοπήσεται Χριστὸς καὶ οὐχ ὑπάρξει αὐτῷ), and the *Syriac* have done; or express

what has to be supplied, in the translation itself, as is the case with the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate*.

Of course, we can only learn from the words immediately preceding our clause, what it is that we have to supply; and therefore every exposition, in which this is not done, is so purely arbitrary that it must be at once rejected. *Bertholdt* has wandered farthest away from the mark in his explanation: "he will have no successor belonging to his family." There would really be something pitiable in the condition of men employed in the interpretation of writings, containing such examples of mere caprice, as this would be. Their occupation would be perpetual conjecture, without the possibility of ever being certain that their conclusions were correct.[1] There is something much more plausible in the explanation, suggested by many expositors: "there is to him no helper;" inasmuch as the word supplied is much less limited in its meaning, and would, therefore, more readily occur to any one occupied in guessing. The same may be said, though for a different reason, of the interpretation which many have adopted from the *Septuagint: judicium non erit ei, i.e. crimen quod judicium promeruit.* There is something in the expression *cut off*, which might suggest what is here supplied, since it is not unfrequently used with reference to the punishment of evil-doers.

If we endeavour to supply what is wanting, from the words that precede,[2] it must necessarily be that which belongs to the

[1] *Ewald's* explanation is not much better, viz.: "and there is not to him, *sc.* a son and heir;" nor is that of *Rösch*, "and he will not be *in existence* or *present*, who (will be) to him, that is related to him."

[2] This has been attempted in a very unjustifiable manner by *Lengerke*, who endeavours to arrive at *Bertholdt's* rendering by a different road: "and there does not exist (an anointed one), who is connected with him." But we have no right to take מְשִׁיחַ from the context, unless *the same* anointed one is intended. According to *Lengerke*, however, the meaning would be: and there is not *another* anointed one. Again it cannot be regarded as allowable to supply אֲשֶׁר before לוֹ. אֲשֶׁר is only omitted in cases, in which the meaning is evident. But, in this case, every one would naturally connect לוֹ immediately with אֵין. Moreover אֲשֶׁר לוֹ could not be used in the sense referred to. It would be much too vague, to express the meaning "belonging to his family." *Maurer* agrees with *Lengerke*, with this single exception, that he does not supply אֲשֶׁר. In his opinion, "and there is not to him (an anointed one)" means "*neque habebit imperii successorem et*

anointed one as such. Just as "he is cut off" refers to the destruction of his personal existence, so must the words, "and there is not to him" indicate the destruction of what belongs to him, not of some accidental possession merely, but of that which constitutes his distinguishing characteristic. Now, there cannot be two opinions as to what this would be, in the case of "an anointed one, a prince." In 1 Sam. x. 1, Samuel says to Saul: "the Lord hath anointed thee to be prince over his inheritance." Hence the distinguishing characteristic of an anointed one was, that he was prince over God's inheritance, Israel. This ceased to be the case, the rule of the anointed one over his nation was overthrown, when through the guilt of that nation he was violently put to death.[1] Hence the rendering adopted in the *Vulgate*, "et non erit ejus populus, qui eum negaturus est," is perfectly correct so far as the sense is concerned. And *Jahn* was wrong, only so far as he wished to introduce the word עַם, a people, which is of course not allowable. The correctness of the interpretation we have given is confirmed by what follows. The negative consequence of the cutting off of the Messiah, namely the termination of his rule over the covenant-people, is most appropriately followed by its positive effects, the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the people of a prince, the coming one. In this, there is a close resemblance to the description in Zechariah chap. xi., where the Messiah has no sooner resigned his office as shepherd, on account of the obstinacy with which the people resist its exercise, and broken his pastoral staff, than the poor flock becomes a helpless prey to all kinds of misery, and the whole land is overrun by enemies, who have hitherto been restrained by the invisible power of the good shepherd and king alone.—The expression, "and there is not to him," bears the same relation to the previous clause, "an anointed one is cut off," as the words in John viii. 21, "ye shall die in your sins,"

haeredem legitimum." *Steudel* also completes the passage from the context in an indefensible manner, thus:—"and there is not (an anointed one) to it," namely the nation. The suffix is supposed to refer to עַם in ver. 24!

[1] *Hofmann* thinks that what is meant is "everything belonging to the מִשְׁיָח, a nation, temple, and the worship of the people whom he serves." But, as we have shown, the reference here is to the מִשְׁיַח נָגִיד, the *princely* anointed one, and his inheritance can only be the people of Israel.

to the announcement which precedes them, "I go away" (compare chap. vii. 34).—*Wieseler* objects to this explanation, on the ground that "it is not even true; for if an earthly dominion is intended, Jesus, the carpenter's son, never exercised it at all; but if a spiritual one, then, according to the testimony of the New Testament, it was by his death, that he actually acquired it." It is very clear, however, that the truth of the prophecies of the Old Testament is entirely gone, if Jesus is not to be regarded as the rightful king of the Jews. According to *Wieseler's* view Nathanael was completely in error, when he said to Christ, "thou art the King of Israel" (John i. 50). Why then does John lay such peculiar stress upon the fact, that in the superscription on the cross, Jesus was described as "the King of the Jews?" Why is he so careful to mention, that Pilate could not be persuaded to alter what he had written? *Lampe* certainly enters into the spirit of John, when he writes: "Assuredly we have here an interposition of the providence of God, which guided the hand of Pilate, as it had formerly controlled the lips of Balaam and Caiaphas. We sincerely believe, that Pilate wrote this title under some remarkable impulse from God." And so *Bengel* says (on chap. xix. 22), "Pilate thought that he was acting upon his own authority, but was really obeying the authority of God." Moreover, in Christ's own actions we have his positive testimony, which admits of no exceptions, to the fact that he is the King of the Jews, or rather that he was so until his crucifixion, when the children of the kingdom were rejected in consequence of that event; in other words, to the fact that Pilate was right in asking the Jews, "shall I crucify your King," and that it was not without reason that the soldiers plaited for Christ a crown of thorns, and having put on him a purple robe, exclaimed, "hail King of the Jews" (chap. xix. 3). The same declaration, in deeds if not in words, is to be found in his entrance into Jerusalem (Matt. xxi. 1—11), in which there was a direct reference to the prophecy, "say to the daughter of Zion, behold thy *King* cometh to thee."—The announcement, "and there is not to him," came into operation when the Jews uttered the fatal words, "away with him, away with him, crucify him," and, "we have no king but Cæsar."

Then it was, that they were given up by their king, whom they had solemnly renounced, and were delivered over to Cæsar, to whom they had professed allegiance.

"*And the city and sanctuary will the people of a prince, the coming one, destroy.*"

There are many, who, like *J. D. Michaelis*, *Jahn*, and *Blomstrand*, imagine that, by the נָגִיד here we are to understand the same person, as by the מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד and משיח mentioned before. In confirmation of this opinion they appeal to the fact, that in the New Testament the destruction of Jerusalem is frequently attributed to Christ. However, the following reasons are sufficient to show, that this opinion cannot be maintained, but that נָגִיד refers to a heathen prince, and, as the issue proved, a Roman one, whilst the "*people*" (not "*the* people") are his army. 1. The use of the word נָגִיד alone, whereas the Messiah is called מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד and מָשִׁיחַ, leads to the conclusion that a contrast is intended, and makes it impossible to think of any other than a non-theocratic ruler.—2. This contrast again is expressed as clearly as possible in the הַבָּא (the coming one), attached to נגיד, which serves to point out this prince as a non-theocratic ruler, coming from without; just as the term "anointed" described more precisely the prince mentioned before. The grammatical relation of הבא to נגיד is sufficient in itself to show that the former word is introduced, both as a more precise definition, and also to point out a contrast. The grammatical connexion of the two nouns משיח and נגיד, and the fact that the former is placed first, whereas it is afterwards written alone, indicate a similar intention. נגיד הבא must not be rendered "of a coming prince," but "of a prince, the coming one." The article prevents us from taking הבא as an adjective, agreeing with נגיד. Just as the rule, that "a noun with the definite article cannot be joined to an adjective without it," is one that admits of no exceptions; so is also the rule, that "an adjective with the article cannot be connected with a noun without it." Hence the expression, "a prince, the coming one," in other words,

"the one who is coming" (*Ewald* § 325 *a*), implies the previous existence of another prince, a native king; and the Messiah has already been announced as answering this description. בוא is the standing expression in Daniel, to denote generally departure from one's own country into a foreign land, but more particularly the invasion of a country by a foreign king; and in this sense it occurs again and again in chap. xi. (Compare vers. 13, 16, 21, 40, 41). In the very first verse of the Book of Daniel it is used in connexion with the attack made upon Jerusalem by a foreign foe. But there is a passage of peculiar importance in Jer. xxxvi. 29, "the king of Babylon shall certainly *come* and *destroy* this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast." We have here a parallel passage, which strikingly accords with the announcement in Daniel, if we adopt the explanation given above. In both, בוא is connected with השחית; and "the prince" in the one case corresponds to the king of Babylon in the other.—The interpretation given by *Blomstrand* and others, namely, that "the coming one" means "the *future* one," must be rejected for the following reasons. The verb בוא is never used in Daniel to denote futurity. The expression, "coming days," may no doubt be used in this sense; but a coming *prince* would not, without further explanation, mean a prince who will appear at some future time. Again, the predicate would be a superfluous one, if this were the meaning; for everything is future in prophecy, and in this section especially the whole relates to futurity.—*Blomstrand* quotes Matt. xxii. 7, to prove that it is Christ who is here referred to: "when the king heard thereof, he was wroth: and he sent forth his armies and destroyed those murderers, and burned up their city." It cannot be denied, that there is a close connexion between this passage, and the announcement in Daniel; but with our explanation it is quite as obvious, for the whole context shows, that the foreign prince is to be regarded as the messenger of the anointed one. The term ὁ ἐρχόμενος (the coming one), which is applied to Christ in the New Testament, and on which *Blomstrand* also relies, is not taken from this passage, but, as we shall afterwards see, from Malachi iii. 1.

Several commentators connect the expression, "the coming one," not with the "prince," but "the people," "the people . . . that shall come." But it is a sufficient proof of the incorrectness

of this explanation, that "the coming one" is a phrase evidently introduced for the purpose of distinguishing one prince from another. In the case of the people, there is no room for any such distinction as is evidently indicated by the article in הַבָּא *(the* coming one); for in the whole course of the prophecy there is no reference whatever to any native army. The absence of the article from the word עַם proves that it means *men*, and from the context we obtain the meaning *soldiers*.

"*And it will end in the flood.*"

These words are intended to show the immense power of "the prince, the coming one," and to ward off every attempt to weaken the force of the word "destroy." The invasion of the foreign prince resembles a flood, and the *destruction* is such, that it completely puts an end to both city and temple.

It is evident from chap. xi. 45, that קִצּוֹ can only mean, the end to which a person is brought. The question is, to what does the suffix refer? Anti-Messianic expositors say, "to the heathen prince." But the whole context is opposed to such an assumption, for the account of the desolations is continued after this; and these desolations proceed from the very same prince, whose death is supposed to be predicted here. Moreover, the following קֵץ, in which there is evidently an allusion to קִצּוֹ, relates to the covenant nation and the holy land. There is not the least indication of the conqueror being defeated, in anything that follows; so that if it is to him that reference is made here, the words must have been dropped into the text at random.

The Messianic expositors all agree in this, that the suffix must refer to that which is described, both in the preceding and following clause, as destroyed and made desolate. But they differ from one another in their grammatical explanations. Some, like *Geier*, suppose that the suffix relates to the city and temple; but, in this case, we should rather expect to find a plural. Others, like *Sostmann*, refer it merely to the temple; but it is difficult to see, why peculiar prominence should be given to this; seeing that both city and temple are spoken of in the

preceding clause, and in the words which immediately follow. *Vitringa* and *C. B. Michaelis* have given the correct version, *et finis ejus rei.*[1]

The following remarks furnish a certain clue to the meaning of בְּשֶׁטֶף. 1. The verb and noun are only used in Daniel, in connexion with a hostile invasion; in the same manner as in Is. viii. 8. Thus in chap. xi. 22, "and the arms of the flood—the Egyptian armies which had previously inflicted so much injury upon others—will be overflowed by him and broken;" then, again, in chap. xi. 10, 26, 40.—2. There is the less ground for giving up this meaning, which is the only established one, inasmuch as the *flood*, mentioned here, evidently answers to the *coming* spoken of before, namely, the hostile invasion of the holy land.—3. The article in בשטף (with the flood) points back most distinctly to הבא (the coming one). This is, at all events, the simplest explanation, and the one which most naturally suggests itself. It would be only in a different connexion, that the article could be used *generically*. These remarks suffice at the outset to do away with a number of incorrect explanations; for example that of *Hofmann* and *Wieseler*, who suppose that שטף denotes "the execution of the judicial wrath of God," in support of which view not a single parallel passage can be adduced;—that of *Rosenmüller*, *Rödiger*, and others, who take "with a flood" to be equivalent to "suddenly;"—and that of *Steudel* and *Maurer*: "*vi quadam ineluctabili oppressus*," &c.

It will now be still more apparent, how unsuitable it is to refer these words to the heathen prince, and especially to

[1] Examples are by no means rare, of this use of the suffix, and also of the separate pronoun, with reference, not to some particular noun that goes before, but to the whole matter in hand—(compare the הוּא in Zech. xi. 11, and Jer. xxxii. 6—8, where it relates to the whole of the preceding sentence)—for example, Ezek. xviii. 26, "when the righteous man turneth away from his righteousness and committeth iniquity and dieth עֲלֵיהֶם, on that account," namely, because he has forsaken righteousness and committed unrighteousness;—Is. lxiv. 5, "behold thou art wroth, for we have sinned; בָּהֶם עוֹלָם, in them (sin and wrath) we are now already an eternity;"—Prov. xiv. 13, אַחֲרִיתָהּ *finis ejus rei*, namely, if one laughs; Ps. lxxxi. 6, "for a testimony in Joseph he has ordained this, שָׂמוֹ," the keeping of the feasts of praise and thanksgiving, recommended in the previous verse.

Antiochus Ephiphanes, as modern commentators have done. Did *he* find his end in the same expedition, in which he destroyed the city and temple? We have here the very *opposite* of the oppression by Antiochus Epiphanes. Of this the prophet never speaks, without at the same time announcing its termination. In chap. xi. 36 he says, with reference to him, "and he shall prosper *until* the indignation be accomplished." The oppression referred to here, on the contrary, is not עַד־עֵת (chap. xi. 25); its end coincides with that of its object. This is expressly stated, and hence it is evident that the prophecy closes with the threat of the utter destruction of city and temple. The expression itself precludes a merely partial destruction, and there is not the least intimation of their being restored again.

"*And to the end is war; decree of ruins.*"

Many connect these words together, so as to form one sentence: "and to the end of the war is decree of desolations." But we prefer to take them in the manner indicated above; first, because the evident connection between קֵץ and קִצּוֹ leads us rather to think of the termination of the whole affair;—again, because מִלְחָמָה has no article, which we should expect it to have, if it referred to a certain definite war already mentioned, just as in the case of שִׁטֵּף the article is prefixed, the particular flood, referred to, already predicted;—and also because the decree of ruins has its starting point, rather than its goal, in the end of the war,—a difficulty, which these expositors avoid only by giving to שֹׁמֵמוֹת the inadmissible rendering *devastations*. The meaning is, that the war and the decree of ruins will only terminate, when the object itself ceases to exist. It is no passing hostile invasion, that is here referred to, like that which occurred in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes; but one in which the city and the temple would be completely destroyed.

נֶחֱרֶצֶת might, from the form of the word, be in the absolute state, like נִבְחֶדֶת in Zech. xi. 9. But, as נֶחֱרָצָה is found in every other case, in which the absolute state occurs (cf. Is. x. 23, xxviii. 22), and as the form, used here, is met with, not only in

chap. xi. 36, but even in the present prophecy, and, again, as this participle in the Niphal always has the force of a substantive, meaning "something cut off," viz., a sentence, *sententia peremtoria* (an expression taken probably from judicial language and used to denote a fixed, irrevocable, final sentence; see below at ver. 27)—it is best to follow the *Syriac*, and render it as a noun in the construct state.

If we look to the derivation of שִׁמְמוֹת from the intransitive verb שָׁמֵם, of which it is a participle (on this point see ver. 27), it can have no other meaning than: devastated places, ruins, certainly not "*devastations*" in an active sense. This is confirmed by the usage of the language. We find it at ver. 18 of this chapter: "look upon our desolations, שִׁמְמֹתֵינוּ. In Ezek. xxxvi. 4, it is construed as an adjective, and joined to חָרְבוֹת, and in Is. lxi. 4 it occurs twice as a parallel to it. It never even assumes the appearance of an abstract. The decree of the ruins is the decree, to which the ruins belong, inasmuch as it has called them into existence.

There is something remarkable in the relation, in which these last words stand to the closing words of ver. 25; a relation which is indicated in both places by the introduction of the verb חָרַץ. By the irrevocable decree of God, the city now lying in ruins will be rebuilt; by an equally irrevocable decree, it will be laid in ruins again.

Ver. 27. "*And one week will confirm the covenant to the many* (or '*he will confirm the covenant to the many one week*') *and the middle of the week will cause sacrifice and meat-offering to cease, and the destroyer comes over the summit of abominations, and indeed until that which is completed and determined shall pour down upon the desolate places.*

"*And one week will confirm the covenant to the many* (or '*he will confirm the covenant to the many one week*')."

Many suppose that the subject of הִגְבִּיר (will confirm) is the

heathen prince. But, apart from the substance of the clause itself, it is a sufficient objection to this opinion, that the "coming prince" is not mentioned immediately before; that he only occupies a subordinate position in ver. 26; "and that even there he is not the subject of a sentence," *(Hitzig)*. According to others, "the week" is the subject, *(Theodotion: καὶ δυναμώσει διαθήκην πολλοῖς ἑβδομὰς μία)*, so that we have here an example of the idiom, frequently met with, in which a place, or a period of time, is described as performing, whatever takes place within it. We have a specimen of the former in Ps. lxv. 12, 13, "the hills rejoice; the valleys shout for joy;" and of the latter in Mal. iv. 1, "the day cometh that shall burn as an oven;"—in Job iii. 3, "the night which said there is a man child conceived;"—in ver. 10, where the night is cursed, because it did not shut up the doors of the womb;—and again in Prov. xxvii. 10. Numerous examples are cited by *Schultens* (p. 41) from Arabic authors; and by *Gronovius* (observv. i. 1, c. 2) from writers in other languages.—Lastly, there are others who regard "the anointed one" as the subject. From what has already been stated, there can be no doubt, that the action referred to here really belongs to him. The fact that he is not mentioned in the context immediately before, is not of great importance. What *Maurer* has erroneously asserted with reference to Antiochus, namely, that "it would not have been of any consequence, if the distance had been greater, seeing that Antiochus is the leading character of the whole epoch," is really applicable to "the anointed one." In the whole section he is the leading person, and even the coming prince, in ver. 26, is his agent. In ver. 24 the anointed one appears, as the centre of all the divine operations, the dispenser of every blessing. In ver. 26, again, it is he, whose death is described as causing the rejection of the whole nation (see the clause immediately following). But of ver. 26 we have a further expansion in the verse before us. First of all, it contains a fuller explanation with reference to the anointed one, and then returns to the "prince, the coming one." Again, the passage in Isaiah, upon which this is based, and to which allusion is made in chap. xi. 33, and xii. 3 (Is. liii. 11): "by his knowledge will the righteous one, my servant, justify many," favours the supposition that the anointed one is the sub-

ject (compare vol. ii., p. 305). With this we may also compare Is. xlii. 6, where Christ is described as the personal and living *covenant* of the nation.

Some commentators maintain, that the one week is not to be connected with the previous sixty-nine, as necessarily following immediately upon them; but that the reference is merely to some week or other, which must not be too far removed from the other sixty-nine. This one week, they say, is the one which was followed by the destruction of Jerusalem. But we can see at once, that this opinion has not been formed from an impartial examination of the text, but from the attempt to escape from a difficulty, caused by comparing the prophecy with its fulfilment. *Vitringa* (in his hypotyposis historiae et chronologiae sacrae) has laid it down, as one of the fundamental rules to be observed in the interpretation of this prophecy, "that the period of seventy hebdomads, or 490 years, is here predicted, as one that will continue uninterruptedly from its *commencement* to its *close* or completion, both with regard to the entire period of seventy hedomads, and also as to the several parts (7, 62, and 1), into which the seventy are divided. What can be more evident than this? *Exactly* seventy weeks in all are to elapse; and how can any one imagine, that there is an interval between the sixty-nine and the one, when these together make up the seventy? But the most fatal objection to this theory lies in the impossibility of discovering, in the week supposed to be alluded to, that which was really its distinguishing characteristic, namely the confirmation of the covenant. For where do we find, in the whole period of the Roman war, manifestations of mercy of so striking a character, and so strongly confirmatory of the covenant of the Lord with his people, that it was a fitting thing to pass over the seventieth week in perfect silence, with all the proofs of mercy which were really given then, merely for the purpose of giving prominence to this particular week? Some would gladly get rid of this argument, by leaving the one week, to which the confirming of the covenant belonged, the actual seventieth week, and simply assigning to the half week, which follows, a position outside the cycle of the seventy, embracing the period of the Jewish war. But a difficulty arises here, namely, the article in הַשָּׁבוּעַ, which prevents us from understanding thereby a half week generally,

nd compels us to explain it, as referring to the particular week nentioned just before.

The one thing, which has given occasion to this false interpreation, is the notion, that the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans must necessarily fall within the limits, embraced by the hronological data given in the prophecy; a notion which led even he acute-minded *Scaliger*, to resort to the most forced and far-etched assumptions. *Vitringa*, on the other hand, has laid down he sound canon: "These hebdomads terminated in the three ears, which immediately followed the death of Jesus Christ; for is death was undoubedtly to happen in the middle of the last ebdomad, after the seven and sixty-two years had already come o an end." That there is no ground for the former opinion, we hall see when we come to explain the words, "the middle of he week will cause sacrifice and meat-offering to cease."

הִגְבִּיר means "to make strong," "to confirm;" and we have no ight to attribute other meanings to the word, as *Bertholdt* and *Hitzig* have done. This is evident from the derivation, from he use of the Piel (*e.g.*, Zech. x. 6, 12), and also from the neaning of the Hiphil in the only other passage in which it ccurs, namely, Ps. xii. 5.

By the *covenant*, many understand the covenant already in xistence; others, again, the new covenant to be established by he anointed one (*cf.* Jer. xxxi. 31). The absence of the article nust not be relied upon, as a proof the correctness of the latter iew. For there are other passages in this book, in which the ord ברית is used without the article, though the Old Testanent covenant is intended (xi. 28, 30, 32); just as קדש without the article is employed to denote *the* sanctuary in chap. viii. 3. (The absence of the article may be explained on the ground, hat the words covenant and sanctuary had grown into proper ames). At all events, whether it be the confirmation of the ovenant already in existence, or the establishment of a new one, hat is here referred to,—(in the latter case "making the covenant strong" would be equivalent to "concluding a strong ovenant"),—a contrast is evidently intended to the *quality* of he previous covenant, which had not been fortified by such lorious manifestations of the grace of God, as were witnessed ow, and, therefore, could only be regarded as weak in com-

parison with that which was now about to be concluded, and which would be based upon the forgiveness of sins, the impartation of eternal righteousness, and the anointing of the Holy of Holies. Again, the word בְּרִית is never used in the book of Daniel, except in chap. xi. 22,[1] to denote any other kind of covenant than that of God with Israel; and this fact alone is sufficient to show that the expression can hardly refer to an alliance, into which Antiochus Epiphanes entered with some rebellious members of the covenant people,—an explanation which we should be obliged to reject on many other grounds.

The comprehensive phrase, "to strengthen the covenant," embraces the communication of all the blessings, already promised by the prophet in ver. 24.

The article in לָרַבִּים may be generic, "the many" in contradistinction to the few; compare Matt. xxiv. 12. The many are few, when looked at from another point of view. This declaration is both preceded and followed by the announcement, that the mass of the people will be destroyed. But it is a consolation to know, that salvation is still to be imparted to the many; though not to the nation as a whole.

There can be but little doubt, that there is an allusion to Is. liii. 11 in the expression "to the many;" the strengthening of the covenant corresponding to the justifying announced in Isaiah. And this supposition is confirmed by a comparison of chap. xi. 33 and xii. 3.

The occasion of the prophecy is sufficient to explain the fact, that, both here and in ver. 24, we only read of what the Messiah would do for the faithful among the *Jews*. Daniel was impelled to make intercession by his fear, that the Lord had rejected Israel on account of its sins. What could be more natural, therefore, than that the answer from God should embrace only what was requisite to dissipate this fear?

We simply add the excellent paraphrase, which *Vitringa* has given of these words (in the Observv. T. ii. p. 258): "in the

[1] The covenant-prince in this passage can only be the covenanted prince, compare בְּעַל בְּרִית, Gen. xiv. 13. In chap. xi. 32, on the other hand *Hitzig* has correctly maintained in opposition to *Hävernick*, that the covenant of God with Israel is intended: "In the whole book, not excepting chap. xi. 32, the word בְּרִית is applied to the covenant of God with Israel."

meantime God will have regard to very many elect, who are to be preserved κατ' ἐκλογὴν χάριτος, and to whom the covenant of divine grace will be made known by Christ and his apostles;—a covenant to be confirmed and attested by illustrious miracles and gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are to be displayed among them, especially for seven years, reckoning from the time when the Lord shall have first entered upon his public ministry in the midst of the Jews."

"*And the middle of the week will (in the middle of the week will he) cause sacrifice and burnt-offering to cease.*"

חצי means the *half* and the *middle*. No one can dispute the latter meaning; compare, for example, חצי הלילה, the middle of the night, Ex. xii. 29;—חצי השמים, the midst of the heavens, Josh. x. 13. And it is also evident that this must be the meaning here; for if the half of the week had been intended, it would certainly have been stated which half was referred to.

If "*the anointed one*" is the subject, the accusative must be used in the same sense as in חצות לילה (Job. xxxiv. 20), and ראש אשמרת, at the beginning of the night, in Judg. vii. 19; (compare *Ewald* § 279).

Sacrifice and meat-offering are individual examples, selected for sacrifices of every kind; compare Ps. xl. 7, where the list is more comprehensive.

The fact that the strengthening of the covenant is to go on during the whole of the week, in the middle of which the sacrifice and meat-offering cease, is a proof that it is not to be a sorrowful event for believers, but rather a cause of joy; whilst on the other hand its connexion with the destruction of the temple, which is announced immediately afterwards, shows that, so far as the unbelieving portion of the nation is concerned, it is to be regarded as a judgment. If we enquire now in what way this cessation of sacrificial worship is to be brought about; the death of the Messiah at once suggests itself as the cause. That the expression "after sixty-two weeks" (sixty-nine if we reckon from the going forth of the word) cannot be understood to mean, that the Messiah was to be cut off at the very beginning of the

seventieth week is evident from the simple fact, that if this were the case, the point of time fixed for his appearance and that for his death would coincide (compare ver. 25, "from the going forth of the word . . unto the Messiah are sixty-nine weeks"); and the words themselves, "after sixty-nine weeks," clearly show that we must not go beyond the middle of the seventieth week, the period fixed for the cessation of the sacrificial worship.

But in what respect did the death of Christ put an end to the sacrificial ceremonies? So far as the abolition was a benefit, the question may easily be answered. The Levitical ritual was abolished as weak and unprofitable (Heb. vii. 18), when the true forgiveness of sins had been procured by the death of Christ, and eternal righteousness was brought in. The shadow vanished in the presence of the substance, the type before the antitype. But, with reference to the abrogation as a punishment, as *Frischmuth* says: "the question has respect, not to the bare fact of the abolition, but to its having taken place in a legal point of view." The sacrificial rites had been established by God himself, as an attestation of his covenant with Israel (see the remarks on Zech. ix. 11). When, therefore, this covenant ceased to exist, in consequence of the murder of his son, the sacrificial rites ceased at the same time, so far as everything essential was concerned; since this depended entirely upon their being appointed and approved of God. The question, therefore, as to their being outwardly maintained for some time longer, did not come into consideration at all. Their actual cessation was merely an outward proclamation of a decree, which had already been carried into effect at the very moment of the Saviour's death. The only end, which it answered, was to take away from Israel a merely imaginary possession. And in the same way, the destruction of the city and temple by the Romans was nothing but an outward manifestation of a state of things, which existed already. When Christ was put to death, Jerusalem ceased to be the holy city, and the temple was no longer the house of God, but an abomination. Hence, in connexion with all the three things mentioned in this prophecy, the only point to which prominence is given, and which is placed in its chronological position, is one which involves all the rest, and of which the others were but the development. We have just the same kind of represen-

tation in Zech. xi., where the raging of civil strife, and the devastation of the city and land by foreign foes, are placed in immediate connexion with the rejection of the Messiah, and his abdication of the office of shepherd. The supernatural agency, by which the former had been hitherto warded off, ceased at once with the occurrence of the latter; and it was of little consequence, whether the natural causes, by which they were brought about, required a longer or shorter period for their full development. When once Jesus had been condemned to death, "immediately the fig-tree (of the Jewish nation) withered away." From that time forth (ἀπάρτι, Matt. xxvi. 64), the Son of Man was engaged in coming to judgment. In the prospect of his death the Saviour wept over the city; so distinctly did he foresee its destruction (Luk. xix. 41—44), the root of which was to be seen in the fact, that it knew not the time of its visitation. With reference to the close connexion between the death of Christ, and the destruction of the city, see also Luke xx. 14—18, and xxiii. 48.

Theodoret points out the fact, that what is here announced, as the effect of Christ's death, was symbolised at the moment of his death by the rending of the veil of the temple (Matt. xxvii. 51; Mark xv. 18); and *Calvin*, in his excellent remarks on the meaning of this symbolical event (harmonia Evang. p. 368), from which we can only make a short extract, has shown that there is a real foundation for this statement in two respects, in both of which the abolition of the sacrificial worship is here predicted. "The rending of the veil," he says, "was not only an abrogation of the ceremonies, which had been maintained under the law, but as it were an opening of the heavens, that God might now invite the members of his Son to approach him with familiarity. In the meantime the Jews were admonished, that an end was put to outward sacrifices; that henceforth the ancient priesthood could no longer be required, and that, although the walls of the temple might continue to stand, God was not to be worshipped there any more, with the rites they had hitherto performed. The substance and truth of the shadows were now perfectly realized, and therefore the letter of the law was changed into spirit."

"*And over (the) summit of abominations (comes the) destroyer.*"

We take כָּנָף, wing, to be a figurative term denoting the summit. It is not difficult to find philological proofs of the correctness of this view, for it is generally admitted that such a figurative use of the word does occur in Hebrew. The wings of a garment are the two ends of it; the wings of the earth (Is. xi. 12), *extrema terrarum*. In Rabbinical Hebrew, "the wings of the lungs" are *extremitates pulmonis*. In the New Testament, "the wing of the temple," in Matt. iv. 5, and Luke iv. 9, is the summit, not of some adjoining building, but of the temple itself (see *Fritzsche's* reply to *Kühnoel* and others). The idea is so closely connected with the nature of the object, that we find it in nearly every language. We will merely cite a few examples from the Greek. The direct meaning of πτερύγιον, as given by *Suidas* and *Hesychius*, is ἀκρωτήριον. The latter mentions some examples of this use of the word: πτερύγια, μέρος τι τοῦ ῥυμοῦ, καὶ τοῦ πνεύμονος τοῦ λοβοῦ τὰ ἄκρα, καὶ τοῦ ὠτὸς τὸ ἄνω, καὶ ξίφους τὰ ἑκατέρωθεν, ἢ τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ἱματίων. According to *Pollux* the outer side of an oar was called πτερὰ (i. 62). —In the שִׁקּוּצִים, abominations, there is doubtless, among other things, a special reference to idols; for not only is this the sense, which the word almost invariably bears (even Nahum iii. 6 is not an exception, compare i. 14),[1] but there are several passages in the earlier writings, which we shall quote presently, that appear to have formed the basis on which this clause is founded, and in which this use of שִׁקּוּצִים generally prevails.—In our opinion, the wing of abominations is the summit of the temple, which has been so desecrated by abominations, that it no longer deserves to be called the temple of the Lord, but a temple of idolatry. In this expression we may perceive the reason, why the temple is laid in ruins, in the manner predicted here. מְשֹׁמֵם we render *destroyer;* and in defence of this rendering, we appeal to the

[1] In Hos. ix. 6 the word is applied to idolatrous worshippers, but only to show the close connexion between the worshippers and the idols themselves, "and they became abominations like their idols." The rule therefore is without exception.

ordinary meaning of the Poel;—to chap. xi. 31, where the participle is indisputably used in this sense;—and to the evident antithesis in the words מְשֹׁמֵם, and שֹׁמֵם, the latter of which can have no other meaning than "*the destroyer.*"

That the destroyer is said to be, or come, over the summit of the temple, we regard as a sign of its utter ruin; inasmuch as the capture of the highest part presupposes the possession of all the rest. A fortress, for example, is completely taken, when the enemy has surmounted its loftiest battlements.

The philological correctness of this explanation no one will be able to call in question, after what we have already written.[1] Its distinguishing characteristic is this, that it shows the destruction of the temple to have been occasioned by the desecration, which it had received from the covenant nation itself. In support of this explanation the following arguments, of a positive nature, may be adduced.

1. It is in harmony with all the rest of the prophecy. The ancient temple is described in the prophecy as changed, on account of the unbelief of the people and the murder of the Messiah, from a house of God into a house of abominations, which must be destroyed. In this respect it is contrasted with a Holy of Holies, which is to be anointed, according to ver. 24, at the end of the seventy weeks. The destruction of the temple, which is no longer a temple, or dwelling place of the true God, corresponds to the cessation of the sacrifices, which are not sacrifices now.

2. The destruction of the second temple is most closely related to that of the first. That there was nothing accidental in either of these, but that both were effected by the avenging justice of God, who was inflicting punishment for the apostasy of his people and the desecration of his temple, was demonstrated by

[1] *Gesenius* says in the thesaurus: "if we follow the Masoretic points and the rules of syntax, this ought to be rendered 'above the top of the abominations will be the destroyer;' but with the parallel passages, xi. 31 and xii. 11, against such a rendering, it is better to interpret the passage, as if the reading had been ועל כנף שקוצי משמם: 'and the abominations of the destroyer, (*i.e.* the idol of Antiochus,) will be placed on the top of the temple.'" So that the true meaning is to be given up, and a false one preferred, because of the parallel passages; although this false interpretation is at variance with history! It would be better to look a little more closely into the meaning of these parallel passages.

God with such clearness, that it ought to have opened the eyes of the blindest, and to have proved to him, that the theocracy was not a fiction, but a reality. The second destruction happened on precisely the same day as the first. "And now,"—says *Josephus*, de bello Jud. vi. 4, 5, after having related how Titus had resolved to spare the temple, but had been prevented from carrying his resolution into effect, by the much earlier decree of God,—"and now that fatal period had come round, the tenth day of the month Lous, in which the former one had been burned by the king of the Babylonians." What a seal did God thus set upon the book of his revelations!—With the two events so closely connected, we cannot but be prepossessed in favour of such an explanation of the passage announcing the second destruction, as places cause and effect in precisely the same relation to each other, as that in which they stood in the predictions of the first; especially when we consider, that Daniel himself had been an eye-witness of this connection, that he had given new life to the writings of the earlier men of God, and that the study of these writings had been the immediate occasion of that intercession, which led to his receiving the revelation before us.—Let us proceed now to an examination of the passages themselves. In 2 Kings xxi. 2 sqq. we read: "Manasseh did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, after the abominations of the heathen, whom the Lord cast out before the children of Israel: —and he built altars in the house of the Lord,—and he placed the image of Asherah, which he had made, in the temple.—And the Lord spake by his servants the prophets, saying, because Manasseh hath done these abominations,—and hath made Judah also to sin with his abominations,—therefore thus saith the Lord, behold I bring evil upon Jerusalem and Judah—and I stretch over Jerusalem the measuring line of Samaria—and I destroy the remnant of mine inheritance, and give them into the hand of their enemies,—because they have done evil in my sight." Now if we turn to Jer. vii. 10 sqq., we read there: "they place their abominations in the house, upon which my name is called, to pollute it.—Is this house, upon which my name is called, a den of robbers in your eyes?—Therefore will I do unto this house, upon which my name is called and wherein ye trust, and to the place, which I gave to you and to your

fathers, as I have done to Shiloh." And again in Ezekiel we find, in chap. v. 11, "wherefore as I live, saith the Lord God, because thou hast defiled the sanctuary with all thine abominations, and with all thy detestable things (בְּכָל־שִׁקּוּצַיִךְ וּבְכָל־תּוֹעֲבֹתַיִךְ), I also will take away and my eye shall know no pity, and I will not spare;"—in chap. vii. 8, 9, "I send upon thee all thine abominations. I will send upon thee according to thy ways, and thine abominations shall be in the midst of thee;" —ver. 20, "and his beautiful ornament he has changed into pride, and the images of their abominations they made into detestable things therein; therefore I give it to them for uncleanness, and I give it (their ornament) into the hand of strangers for a prey, and to the ungodly for a spoil, and they pollute it;"—and in ver. 22, "and I turn my face away from them, and they (the enemies) pollute my secret place (the Holy of Holies) and the wicked enter into it and defile it." Many, like *Rosenmüller*, who follows *Jerome*, understand by צְבִי עֶדְיוֹ not the ornament of his beauty, but *his beautiful ornament*,—"gold and silver, and every good thing, which had been conferred upon them by God." But it is evident that the allusion is to the temple, and the following proofs are decisive: the word חִלֵּלוּהָ in ver. 21;—the 23d verse, where the Holy of Holies is mentioned by way of climax;—the expression in ver. 20, "I give it to them for uncleanness (the sanctuary, which they have defiled, shall become a source of uncleanness to them, instead of holiness);—and the parallel passage in chap. xxiv. 21, "behold I profane my sanctuary, my glorious beauty, the desire of your eyes, the pasture of your souls" (compare Jer. vii. 4, and Is. lxvi. 3, 4). Now the prophecy of Daniel stands in the same relation to these, as the eleventh chapter of Zechariah to the two prophecies of Jeremiah.

3. "Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together." These words of the Lord point out to us the cause of all the evil, that ever has befallen the church of God, whether under the Old or the New Testament, and that ever will befal it. This connexion between the "*where*" and the "*there*" was apparent even in the oppression under Antiochus Epiphanes; and if a careful examination of the passages relating

to that event leads to the conclusion, that Daniel recognises it here, and has even designedly given it prominence; if we see, for example, that he represents the desecration of the temple by a heathen, as the consequence of a previous desecration by the people of the covenant themselves, we shall be all the more disposed to believe that, in the case before us also, he calls attention to the renewed operation of this fundamental law. The passages in question are the following: chap. xi. 31, "and arms *(brachia)* shall arise from him *(eo jubente, Gesenius)*, and pollute the sanctuary, the stronghold, and take away the constant (thing), and send the abomination (הַשִּׁקּוּץ) as a destroyer." These words are of the greater importance, since they contain the same characteristic expressions as our own passage, and we are therefore led to conclude, that there is an intimate connexion between the two. We take זְרֹעִים, "arms," in the sense of *aids, helpers* (compare Ps. lxxxiii. 9, Ezek. xxxi. 17, and verse 6 of this chapter), and refer the suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ to the heathen king, *i.e.*, taking history as our guide, to Antiochus Epiphanes. The arms, the helpers furnished by him, are "those that forsake the holy covenant," ver. 30, "those that blaspheme the covenant," ver. 32, זְרוֹעַ, which is always a feminine, is construed here as a masculine, on account of its meaning. There is evidently an antithesis in the expressions "they take away" and "the constant (thing)." They take away, that which ought not to be interrupted for a single moment, all the signs of the worship and supremacy of the Lord. Commentators have, for the most part, incorrectly interpreted the passage, as referring exclusively to the daily sacrifice. תָּמִיד is never found alone, as in this case, when it refers to one particular object; though, where there are other words to show the allusion, it is used, not only of the daily sacrifice, but also of the fire on the altar, of the sacred lamps, of the show-bread, and other things. The prophet embraces the whole of these, as *Gousset (s.v.)* has correctly explained. The word *give* is used with direct reference to the expression *take away*. They put in its place. The whole sum and substance of idolatry is included in the word הַשִּׁקּוּץ, "the abomination." They give this as a *destroying* thing, because their actions bring destruction in its train as a righteous punishment,

in perfect keeping with the clause, "they desecrate the sanctuary, the stronghold." Because they have desecrated that, which hitherto has afforded them a sure protection, namely, the temple; they are now given helplessly over to their enemies by a righteous retribution. The antithesis to "the giving of the abomination" as a *destructive thing*, which constitutes the starting point of the evil to be inflicted, is formed by "the giving of the abomination" as a *thing destroyed, i.e.* the annihilation thereof to be effected by God, which constitutes the close. With this explanation, the passage harmonises perfectly with that in Daniel, according to the interpretation we have given above. In both of them, the abomination is represented as something "which brings in its train a fearful tragedy of devastation, as sin is followed by punishment. The abominations are regarded as the antecedent, that is as the sin, which is punished by the coming destroyer through the just judgment of God" (*Lampe* in his valuable treatise on the *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, in the Bibl. Brem. cl. 3, p. 990 sqq.). *Bertholdt* gives a different explanation, and *Hitzig*, *Maurer*, and *Wieseler* are substantially of his opinion. He says: "and his troops (those of Antiochus) will desecrate the fortified sanctuary, and will abolish the daily sacrifice, and set up the abomination of desolation." If this be correct, the scandal is represented as proceeding, not from the midst of the covenant nation itself, but from the heathen. But, apart from the fact that הַתָּמִיד and הַשִּׁקּוּץ מְשֹׁמֵם are incorrectly rendered, the following objections may be offered to this explanation. (1.) It is at variance with the context. Vers. 30, 32 are occupied with the members of the covenant nation itself, who had treacherously forsaken the covenant of the Lord. What could lead, then, to the abrupt introduction of an account of the foreign troops between the two?—(2.) If we examine the 8th chapter, we find the abomination described there, as something proceeding from the covenant-nation itself (see also chap. xi. 14).—(3.) זְרֹעִים can hardly be understood as meaning *armies*. For if it were used in this sense, the feminine would be employed, as in vers. 15, 22.—(4.) הַמָּעוֹז, the fortress, points to a desecration on the part of the covenant nation itself. As a

contrast to חִלְלוּ, it shows the guilt and folly of the deed. They rob themselves of their own stronghold.—The *second* passage is chap. viii. 12: וְצָבָא תִּנָּתֵן עַל־הַתָּמִיד בְּפָשַׁע. We render this: "and the army is given up for the constant (thing) on account of the wickedness;" equivalent to "on account of the wickedness, which has been committed, in connexion with the constant thing." There is no grammatical difficulty in the way of *De Wette's* rendering, "and the army is given up *along with* the continual offering, on account of the wickedness." But there is nothing to show what the wickedness is. That צָבָא, army, (a feminine in this case, as it is in Is. xl. 2, and always is in the plural), can only be understood, as referring to the army of the Lord, namely, the people of the covenant, is evident from the fact that it is used in this sense in vers. 10, 11. Even if there were nothing in the word itself, to prevent its being employed in a different sense, it could not be differently interpreted here. If it were used in any other sense *in this passage*, it would only cause confusion. Israel had just before been compared to the army of heaven, the stars, because it was a "kingdom" (Ex. xix. 6), a royal nation, the stars being a symbol of kings.[1] It is evident from ver. 13, that בְּפָשַׁע must refer to wickedness, proceeding from the midst of the covenant people; for they are expressly described in this verse as הַפֶּשַׁע. The correct rendering is: "how long will the vision last, the constant thing and the wickedness laid waste, the giving of the sanctuary and also of the army to destruction?" שָׁמֵם, as a thing destroyed, corresponds to תֵּת מִרְמָס, to give for a treading down; קֹדֶשׁ (the sanctuary) to הַתָּמִיד (the constant thing); and צָבָא (the army) to הַפֶּשַׁע (wickedness). The explanation we have given is con-

[1] *Wieseler* and *Hitzig* rely upon the absence of the article, as a proof that Israel is not referred to. But we must be very careful how we deal with arguments based upon the mere introduction, or omission of the article. It was not required here, because the particular allusion was sufficiently clear, on account of the relation in which the words stood to vers. 10 and 11. "The artistical brevity of the later writers is seen most strikingly," says *Ewald*, "in the omission of the article;" and he cites as an example קדש, the sanctuary, Daniel viii. 13 sqq., and x. 1. Another example might be quoted from Daniel, viz., the use of ברית without the article, to denote the Old Testament covenant.

firmed by ver. 23, where the oppression of the covenant nation is described as occurring בְּכַלֹּתָם הַפֹּשְׁעִים, "when the transgressors are finished," that is, when the measure of iniquity is full, and punishment is thereby brought down with violence.[1] The historical fulfilment favours the explanation, which we have given, of both these passages. In all three sources of the history of the sufferings endured under Antiochus Epiphanes, they are represented as the result of the abominations, which existed in the midst of the covenant nation itself, and as a just retribution. This is particularly the case with regard to the desecration of the temple. It is to Jews, not to heathen, that that desecration is ascribed.—We are the more inclined to quote some of the passages, because they serve at the same time to set before us the course, which God generally pursues in such circumstances, both as regards prophecy and its fulfilment, and thus furnish an additional proof of the correctness of our interpretation, altogether apart from the passages in the book of Daniel. The rebellious members of the covenant nation were the cause of its sufferings, not only because they first induced Antiochus to interfere in the affairs of that nation (see 1 Macc. i. 11), but also, from a higher point of view, because their wickedness called down the vengeance of God, see 2 Macc. iv. 15 sqq. "*Setting at nought the honours of their fathers, and liking the glory of the Grecians best of all; by reason whereof sore calamity came upon them; for they had them to be their enemies and avengers, whose custom they followed so earnestly, and unto whom they desired to be like in all things. For it is not a light thing to do wickedly against the laws of God, but the time following will declare these things.*" By this the city lost that salvation, which the Lord had formerly bestowed upon it, when a better state of mind prevailed; see chap. iii. 1, 2, "*now when the holy city was*

[1] *Hitzig*, perceiving that פשעים in this verse could not be separated from פשע in vers. 12, 13, observes that the transgressors here are no doubt the same as those, who were guilty of the transgression mentioned in ver. 12, namely the *heathen*." This is certainly consistent. *Maurer*, on the other hand, says: "but Alexander and his successors are nowhere so described." And *Michaelis* observes, more profoundly still, "The term 'transgressors,' when the word is used absolutely, is applied to such of the Jews as transgressed against God and his law, rather than to Gentiles (inasmuch as the latter had not yet received a revelation of the law, or the covenant of God), *cf.* Is. i. 2, xlvi. 8, xlviii. 8, and Ez. xx. 38.

inhabited with all peace, and the laws were kept very well, because of the godliness of Onias the high priest, and his hatred of wickedness, it came to pass that even the kings themselves did honour the place, and magnified the temple with their best gifts." The rebels were indirectly the sole cause of the desecration of the temple, and also assisted directly in that desecration: see 1 Macc. i. 33 sqq. The Syrians prepared a stronghold, "*and they put therein a sinful nation, transgressors of the law, and fortified themselves therein.*"—That we are to understand, by the sinful nation and the transgressors of the law, apostate members of the covenant nation, is evident both from the words themselves and also from Josephus (Antiquities xii. 5, 4; compare *J. D. Michaelis* in loc.).—Ver. 36. "*For it was a place to lie in wait against the sanctuary, and an evil adversary to Israel, thus they shed innocent blood on every side of the sanctuary and defiled it.*" Even the setting up of the βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως, the abomination which brought desolation in its train, namely, the heathen altar, was effected with the co-operation of these apostates; compare ver. 52 sqq., "*then many of the people were gathered unto them, to wit, every one that forsook the law; and so they committed evils in the land, &c., and they set up the abomination of desolation upon the altar, and builded idol altars throughout the cities of Judah on every side.*" And on account of all this wickedness the wrath of God fell upon Israel; ver. 64, "*and there was very great wrath upon Israel.*" As the gates of Jerusalem had been opened to Antiochus by the apostates (*cf. Josephus* xii. 5, 3), so was Menelaus his guide, when he laid his impious hands upon the temple and defiled it—"*Menelaus, that traitor to the laws and to his own country being his guide*" (2 Macc. v. 15 sqq.). The reason why the Lord permitted this desecration is given in ver. 17: "*the Lord was angry for a while for the sins of them that dwelt in the city, and therefore his eye was not upon the place.*" The connexion, between the fate of the temple and the conduct of the people, is traced in a most striking manner in ver. 19 sqq.—"*nevertheless God did not choose the people for the place's sake, but the place for the people's sake. And therefore the place itself, that was partaker with them of the adversity that happened to the nation, did afterward communicate in the blessings*

sent from the Lord; and as it was forsaken in the wrath of the Almighty, so again, the great Lord being reconciled, it was set up with all glory."

4. This explanation is supported by the testimony of tradition. We may see this very clearly from the passage in *Josephus* (Wars of the Jews iv. 6, 3, p. 292), where it is said of the zealots, "they occasioned the fulfilment of the prophecies against their own country; for there was a certain ancient saying, that the city would be taken at that time, and that the sanctuary would be burned by an enemy, for sedition would arise, and their own hands would pollute the temple of God; the zealots did not disbelieve these sayings, and yet they made themselves the instruments of their accomplishment." There can be no doubt whatever that, by the "certain ancient saying" (τις παλαιὸς λόγος ἀνδρῶν), we are to understand the prophecy before us (see Dissertation on Daniel, p. 215). The שִׁקּוּצִים were understood as referring to abominations, with which the wicked members of the covenant-nation itself would desecrate the temple; and we may see how widely this particular view was spread, in addition to the general idea that the prophecy related to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, from the fact that *Josephus* expressly affirms, that even the zealots shared in it. *Hofmann* objects to our conclusion, that "the prophecy" referred to is the passage before us, on the ground that this passage does not contain the slightest allusion to civil commotions, or the desecration of the temple by the Jews themselves. That the latter is actually predicted here, is what we are at present occupied in proving. It is certainly true, that *the words* στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ are not to be found in our prophecy. But there were two things, that would inevitably lead *Josephus* to assume the existence of sedition; first, the cutting off of the anointed one, and secondly, the fact that the temple is described as the place of abominations. Both these facts showed clearly, that the whole force of the ungodly party must have been put forth; and at the same time they were evidently altogether inconceivable, without powerful opposition on the part of those who were faithful. That this is the way, in which we are to explain the origin of the words στάσις ἐὰν κατασκήψῃ, is confirmed by another passage of *Josephus*, viz. Bk. vi. chap. ii.

§ 1; and this passage also serves to prove, that our explanation is supported by the testimony of tradition, and that, from the very earliest times the Jews regarded the prophecy as referring to *native* abominations. The words of *Josephus* are as follows: "who does not know the writings of the ancient prophets, and the prediction which hangs over the miserable city, and is now about to be fulfilled; for they foretold its capture, whenever any one should begin the murder of his own countrymen. And now, are not the city and temple full of those of our own people who have fallen? God, therefore, God himself brings fire upon it to purify it by means of the Romans, and destroys the city which is filled with such pollutions" (μιασμάτων). μίασμα is adopted in the Septuagint, at Jer. xxxii. 34, as the rendering of שִׁקּוּץ. *Josephus* connected the abomination with the cutting off of the anointed one. From the one fact he inferred the rest (he had already been speaking of the murder of the High Priest Ananias). *There is not a single passage in Daniel beside this, in which Josephus could have found any announcement of murderous abominations in the temple, which were to proceed from the members of the covenant nation itself.* The prediction of the destruction of the city and temple, on which *Josephus* lays stress in both passages, is altogether restricted to the prophecy before us; as *Wieseler* has said, the words of the παλαιὸς λόγος, "that the city should be taken and the sanctuary burned by an enemy," exactly correspond to the words of Daniel in ver. 26: and the people of the prince "shall destroy the city and sanctuary." As all the things which *Josephus* mentions in the two passages are to be found in the 9th chapter, and as the most distinctive features are not met with in any other part of Daniel, and, moreover, since *Josephus* refers to chap. ix. 27, as containing a prediction of the Roman invasion (see Book vi. 5, § 4; and compare the proofs which *Wieseler* gives that the τετράγωνον is the same as the כנף, p. 158 sqq.), it must be regarded as demonstrated that he alludes to this passage, and this alone. There is the less ground for supposing that there is also an allusion to chap. xi. 12, since the arguments adduced by *Wieseler*, to prove that certain references to the Roman age have been discovered in this chapter also, and that *Josephus* only referred the 8th chapter to

Antiochus Epiphanes, evidently break down. The "three years," in Antiquities xii. 7. 6, point to the twelfth chapter quite as much as to the eighth.[1]

5. This explanation is supported by the weightiest of all authorities, that of the Lord himself. But with the numerous false interpretations of the words in question, this requires to be more closely examined. The passages we refer to are Matt. xxiv. 15, 16, "when ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation, spoken of by Daniel the prophet, stand in the holy place,—whoso readeth let him understand,—then let them which be in Judea flee into the mountains;"—and Mark xiii. 14, "when ye shall see the abomination of desolation standing where it ought not (let him that readeth understand), then let them, &c." We have already proved (in the Dissertation on Daniel, p. 213 sqq.), that the Lord referred to the words of Dan. ix. 27, and not to chap. xi. 31, xii. 11, as *Bertholdt*, *Hofmann*, and others suppose. We showed there, that the predictions in chap. xi. and

[1] Even the proofs offered by *Wieseler*, who follows *Hävernick*, that the Septuagint rendering of Dan. ix. 24—27 is traceable to the opinion that the prophecy refers to Antiochus Epiphanes, cannot be regarded as satisfactory. The arguments adduced in support of such an assumption ought to be more direct. For, according to *Wieseler's* own confession, this is not what we should most naturally expect. At p. 132 he acknowledges that, in the time of Christ, this passage in Daniel was universally supposed to refer to the second destruction of Jerusalem. At p. 162 he says, "these anticipations do not represent the consciousness of an individual, but the *general consciousness of the Jewish nation*. For they were not hatched in the brain of any one man, but, as we are expressly told, they gave life to the actions of a whole people." If this was the national belief, the Alexandrian translators would hardly have ventured to set themselves against it. And if the Septuagint version was opposed to such a belief, it could hardly have arisen at any subsequent period. But all the proof that is offered rests upon a forced interpretation of the chronological notices in ver. 26. There is nothing there about 139 years, but seventy-seven times and sixty-two years. It seems very far-fetched to suppose that the author took as his starting-point the commencement of the era of the Seleucidae; and even if it were so, the years would not agree. According to 1 Macc. i. 21, the persecution commenced in the 143d year. Moreover, there are several things which do not suit the time of the Maccabees; for example the expressions οἰκοδομήσεις Ἰερουσαλὴμ πόλιν κυρίῳ (ver. 25), ἀποσταθήσεται χρίσμα (ver. 26), ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων ἔσται, "on the temple there will be an abomination of desolation,"—(there is nothing to answer to this in the time of Antiochus Epiphanes),—and also συντέλεια δοθήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἐρήμωσιν. The deviations from the original text are not to be attributed to the desire of the translator to force the passage into harmony with the circumstances of the Maccabean era, but to the fact that he was a bungler, and possibly here and there to corruptions in the text, which he certainly exaggerated far more than was necessary.

xii. were at that time commonly believed to have been fulfilled in the time of the Maccabees; whilst the fulfilment of that contained in chap. ix. was regarded as still reserved for the future. The words "let him that readeth understand," which are quoted from chap. ix., were adduced as a still further proof. And lastly, we pointed to the fact, that the expression *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* corresponds exactly to *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν βδέλυγμα τῶν ἐρημώσεων*. With regard to the objection that in the first passage the Septuagint has the plural *τῶν ἐρημώσεων*, and in the other two the singular *τῆς ερημώσεως*, *Wieseler* has justly observed that, "the question, why the Evangelists have written the singular instead of the plural *τῶν ἐρημώσεων*, is easily decided, if we consider that the plural itself is entirely arbitrary and has no foundation in the text." The Evangelists have done just the same thing in the case of the *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν* of the Septuagint. Many commentators (for example *Schott*, comment. in serm. de reditu, p. 47 sqq.) have explained *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*, *abominatio devastationis*, as meaning *abominatio devastanda;* and this, according to *Kühnöl*, is an abstract in the place of the concrete, and means *detestabilis desolator*. The reference is said to be to "the army of the Romans, which was about to destroy Jerusalem, the heathen soldiers, who were worshippers of idols, and hence, or for that very reason, were to be held in abomination." For our part, on the contrary, we follow the steps of such excellent predecessors as *Olearius* (observv. in Matt., p. 682), *Lampe* (l. c.), *Reland*, and *Elsner*, and understand by "the abomination of desolation," the abomination with which desolation was connected, as the effect with the cause. The genitive is exactly like that which we find in the expression *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας*, in 2 Pet. ii. 1, and resembles *ἀνάστασις ζωῆς*. The word *ἑστὼς* (standing) may be accounted for on the ground that the abominations, with which the temple was defiled, were figuratively represented as idols set up in the temple. The figure is employed by Daniel, and was evidently borrowed from an earlier period, when this actually was the form in which the abomination was displayed; (compare the passages quoted from authors who wrote before the captivity).

The leading arguments adduced in support of the current interpretation,—namely, the fact that, in the parallel passage,

Luke xxi. 20, ("when ye shall see Jerusalem compassed with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh"), the compassing of the city by the Romans is given as a sign of the coming destruction, and a proof that it is time to fly,—proves nothing at all, as we have already shown in the Dissertation on Daniel, p. 217. For what hinders us from assuming, that the Lord directed attention to other signs of the coming destruction, which are given in the prophecy of Daniel, either at the same time or on a different occasion; that Luke recorded *the outward* sign, which was taken from Dan. ix. 26 (*καὶ βασιλεία ἐθνῶν φθερεῖ τὴν πόλιν*), selecting this just because it was the most obvious, and could be understood without that thorough acquaintance with the book of Daniel, which the other presupposed, and which Luke could not expect his readers to possess; whereas Matthew and Mark restricted themselves to the *inward* sign, which was taken from ver. 27, and which coincided in point of time with the outward one? In either case an attentive observer would have all that was required.

On the other hand, the ordinary interpretation is fraught with many difficulties. The greatest of these assumes various shapes, according to the different views that are taken of the meaning of the words *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* (in the holy place), without however being more easily overcome in the one case, than in the other. If we suppose it to refer to the temple, as *Beza* and others do, it is impossible to explain why the time, pointed out as the proper period for flight, should be just the moment when it would inevitably be too late, and no longer within the power even of those who had survived the indescribable miseries of the siege, which the Lord certainly desired to spare his followers. Moreover, in this case it would be impossible to tell, how to interpret the parallel passage in Luke. For, although the signs mentioned by the different Evangelists need not be the same, they must certainly coincide in point of time, instead of being separated from each other by so great an interval, as that which intervened between the first commencement of the siege, and the complete conquest of the city.—If, on the other hand, we follow the greater number of those who support the common explanation, and understand by "the holy place," the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, we avoid Charybdis only to fall into Scylla.

For it is evident that "the holy place" must necessarily mean the temple. This is involved in *the expression itself.* It is not enough to quote passages, in which Jerusalem is called a holy city, and Palestine a holy land. Let those who do this try rather to find a single passage, in which the actual expression, "the holy place," is applied to anything else than the temple. They will certainly try in vain, notwithstanding the frequency with which the expression occurs in the *Septuagint* and New Testament, (compare, for example, Acts vi. 13, "against this holy place," and xxi. 28 "hath polluted the holy place"). *Le Moyne* among others has shown, that מָקוֹם, the place, was frequently used by the Jews to denote the temple, even without the term "holy," (comm. in Jerem. xxiii., p. 165). *Schott,* indeed, cites Is lx. 13; but the passage refers to the temple, and not to the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, in the Hebrew as well as the *Septuagint.* A promise is given, that the costly wood of Lebanon shall contribute to the glory of the temple: *καὶ ἡ δόξα τοῦ Λιβάνου πρὸς σὲ ἥξει—δοξάσαι τὸν τόπον τὸν ἁγιόν μου.*— Again the words *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως* (abomination of desolation) show, as is generally admitted, that Christ had the *Septuagint* translation in his mind; though, on the other hand, his substitution of *ἐν τόπῳ ἁγίῳ* for *ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερὸν* proves that he adhered to that version, which was the one current among the people, only so far as it rendered the original text with general fidelity. If, then, allusion is made to the temple, both in the *Septuagint* and the Hebrew text, how could *τόπος ἅγιος* be supposed to mean anything else; especially when the reference to Daniel follows immediately upon the words "standing in the holy place?" Lastly, it is evident from the connexion with what goes before, that the temple must be intended. The outward circumstance, by which the Lord was led to deliver this discourse, was the disciples' showing him the buildings of the temple. In verse 2 he had foretold their destruction, and the disciples had asked him, when this would take place. If, then, he speaks here of an abomination of desolation, which would stand in "the holy place," in close connexion with what he had already been saying, how could any one imagine that by the holy place he meant something different, in this connexion, from that which he had so designated immediately before?

We adduce the following proofs in support of our explanation, according to which the desolation is pointed out in its relation to the *inward* sign, just as in Luke its relation to the *outward* sign is made prominent. 1. Christ does not enter into any further explanation of the meaning to be attached to the phrase "abomination of desolation," but assumes that it is either already known, or may be learned from the book of Daniel, to which he expressly refers. Now, as we have already proved from Josephus, שִׁקּוּצִים and *βδέλυγμα* were at that time universally regarded, as referring to some defilement of the temple on the part of the covenant-people themselves. If the Lord, then, had not approved of this interpretation, as being the correct one, would he have contented himself with this simple allusion, and not rather have given some clue to the meaning of *βδέλυγμα τῆς ἐρημώσεως*?— 2. There is a remarkable parallel to this passage, as we interpret it, in the 28th verse of the same chapter of Matthew, "wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together," in other words, where the sin is, the punishment is sure to follow. The drapery is taken from Job xxxix. 30.—3. Our explanation is in perfect harmony with history. Even *Titus* saw, that the destruction of the sanctuary had been brought about by the fearful abominations, with which it had been polluted, as several passages of Josephus clearly show. And Josephus himself is thoroughly imbued with this idea. He says, for example (in the Wars of the Jews, B. iv. 5, 2), after having narrated the death of the true friends of their country: "but I think that God, having condemned the city to destruction on account of its pollutions, and having decreed that the sanctuary should be purified with fire, cut off these its protectors and friends."

The difference between the words of Daniel, and those of the Lord, is simply this. The language of Daniel is more general in its character. The temple, both in the time of Christ, and after his death, is represented as a place, desecrated by idolatrous abominations, and therefore devoted to destruction. Christ, on the other hand, who wished to furnish his disciples with an outward and visible sign of the coming destruction (compare the expression *ὅταν ἴδητε*), singles out one particular period in this desecration; namely the point of time when that, which had

hitherto been concealed, though already there, was brought to light by the just judgment of God,—according to the plan which he usually adopts in things great and small, and whether the apostasy be that of a nation, or of a single individual. In this instance the form, in which the existing state of things was brought under the cognisance of the senses, was of so frightful a character, that many even of those, who had taken part in the secret desecration, were seized with horror; in fact the history of the zealots given by Josephus can only be explained from the fact that, when crime reaches its height, it passes over into a species of frenzy.

Wieseler starts the objection, that we should expect to find בית before שקוצים, "over the summit of the *house* of the abominations." But to this we reply, that כנף was probably used as a proper name, and applied to the roof of the temple. The reasons for such an assumption may be found in Matt. iv. 5, Luke iv. 9, and the Septuagint version, in which על כנף is rendered ἐπὶ τὸ ἱερόν. The Greeks appear to have had a similar idiom. The Scholiast to Aristophanes says, τας γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας πτερὰ καὶ ἀετοὺς καλοῦσιν. But, apart from this peculiar use of the word, the context shows very clearly that "the summit" could only mean the roof *of the temple*. For the prophet had just been speaking of the temple and things connected with it.—*Wieseler* himself cannot help observing, that, "when we look at the general connexion, there cannot well be any doubt that the words refer to the destruction of the temple."

Having thus sustained our own explanation, let us now take a glance at those which differ from it. The first which presents itself is that of *Lampe*. In every thing essential, it is the same as our own; but he takes a different view of the meaning of כָּנָף. In his opinion, this applies to the temple generally and not merely to the summit: "*the wing*, not as the extreme point, but as that which covers and defends." He appeals to such passages as Ex. xix. 14; Deut. xxxii. 11, 12, where the care, which God takes of his people, is represented under the image of the protection, afforded to its young by an eagle or any other bird. If this explanation be adopted, we have a parallel in chap. xi. 31: "and they defile the sanctuary, the stronghold;" כָּנָף being merely

a figurative term for מָעוֹז. But a fatal objection to this is found at once in the fact that כנף is in the singular, whereas in every other instance, in which the term "wing" is figuratively employed to denote protection (not only in the passages quoted from the Old Testament, but in those cited by *Lampe* from both Greek and Latin authors), the plural is used, as being from the very nature of the case the more appropriate. *Lampe* appeals to Ps. xci. 4; but the collective noun אֶבְרָה, feathers, is not interchangeable with כנף. To this we may add the harshness of the expression, "wing of abominations," if taken to mean the temple, which, if kept holy, would have been a protection, but is now changed into a place of abominations, and cannot therefore justify the false confidence which the people continue to repose in it.

The explanation, given by *Jahn*, contains a somewhat similar idea to our own. He supposes "over the wing of abominations" to mean "over the abominable army of seditious men and thieves." But it is a sufficient objection to this, that the singular כנף cannot be used for an army. And this is perfectly natural; for the figure is based upon the resemblance supposed to be borne by a hostile army to a bird of prey, which stretches out its wings above its victim. In Is. viii. 8, to which *Jahn* refers, the Dual כְּנָפַיִם is used. אֲגַפִּים, *alae*, is also employed by Ezekiel in the same sense, but only in the plural. We find the plural again in the analogous passages quoted by *Gesenius* from Arabic authors, both in the Thesaurus s. v. גפף, and in his commentary on Isaiah, vol. i, p. 335. We need scarcely call attention, therefore, to the fact, that the verb שָׁמֵם itself points to a building, as that which is to be destroyed, especially if we compare ver. 26, where the word שֹׁמֵמוֹת is applied to the ruins of the city and temple. To this word, מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם in the verse before us correspond; the former being regarded as the agent employed in inflicting ruin, the latter as that upon which it falls. Nor need we say that the connexion, which exists between the desolation and the interruption of the sacrificial worship, leads to the conclusion, that the temple is intended.

Among the explanations, which are fundamentally different from our own, we select first of all that of *Bertholdt:* "on the wing roof of the sanctuary will the abomination of desolation stand: this refers to the statue of Jupiter Olympius, which Antiochus Epiphanes set up on the pinnacle of the temple." There are so many points here, which are open to attack, that we need not stop to mention the fact, that there is no historical foundation whatever for the statement, that such a statue was set up. (1). It contains its own refutation; for it cannot be sustained without changing the construct state כְּנַף into the absolute state כָּנָף.—(2). Even granting that this pretended emendation is admissible, the meaning alleged cannot be obtained from the words. How could שִׁקּוּצִים מְשֹׁמֵם mean abomination of desolation? *Bertholdt* maintains that משמם is a participial noun, desolation, like מְכַסֶּה, a cover, מְתָעֵב, an abomination. But מְתָעֵב never occurs in the sense attributed to it; it is only used as a participle Piel, with a transitive signification (compare the notes on Is. xlix. 7). מְכַסֶּה is not an abstract noun at all. And even if this view were not altogether inadmissible, it would be so here, on account of the evident antithesis in the words משמם and שומם, as *agens* and *patiens;* especially as the same antithesis is found in other passages of Daniel (compare xi. 31 with xii. 11). And what do we gain by all this forcing? The absolute state שִׁקּוּצִים cannot be used for the construct. It is undoubtedly correct that in Hebrew the want of composite nouns was supplied, not only by connecting two nouns together in the construct state, but also by placing them side by side in the absolute state; for example, יַיִן תַּרְעֵלָה, *Taumelwein*, "wine of reeling," Ps. lx. 5, and עֲנָוָה־צֶדֶק Mildegerechtigkeit, meekness—righteousness, Ps. xlv. 4. In this case the pronunciation supplied the want of the ordinary grammatical signs of close relationship. But this very rare and therefore *a priori* improbable construction, of the existence of which we ought to have the most convincing proofs, is restricted to nouns whose meanings are intended to coalesce so as to form one idea. The use of the construct state, on the other hand, is far less limited, and serves to point out any relation in which one noun can stand to

another. Now we cannot suppose that the two words abomination and desolation coalesce in this manner in the present passage. The connexion would necessarily be of the slightest description possible, a mere juxtaposition, since the idols could not be regarded as the cause of the desolation.

Rosenmüller suggests this explanation, "and over the wing of abominations there will be a devastating (one), *i.e.*, a devastating general will command a detestable army." But we have already shown that כנף cannot mean an army, because it is in the singular. Is. viii. 8 and xviii. 1 can hardly be adduced as having any bearing upon the question. In both passages reference is made to the wings of a bird of prey, which are figuratively employed to denote a victorious army. We have also proved that שקוצים does not mean *any* abominable thing, but idol deities in particular.

V. Lengerke and *Maurer* agree with us in rendering the passage, "over the summit of abominations comes the destroyer;" but they suppose the temple to have been first made into a place of abominations by the destroyer: "et cum templo a se profanato ad arbitrium aget vastator." *Wieseler*, on the other hand, has already observed, that it is very harsh to assume the existence of such a *prolepsis* as this, "the prince destroys that summit in such a manner that it becomes a summit of abominations." The most natural supposition is, that the summit of abominations and the destroyer bear the same relation to each other, as the cutting off of the anointed one to the destruction of the city and sanctuary by the foreign prince, referred to in the previous verses.

Wieseler understands by כנף, the point or surface of the *altar*, and by the abominations, the unholy, heathenish spirit, the unbelief, in which the people offered their sacrifices upon the altar of the Lord. But the word πτερύγιον in the New Testament and ἱερὸν in the *Septuagint* both show, that כנף is the roof of the temple, and not the point of the altar. Again, we do not see why the *point* of the altar should be particularly mentioned. Lastly, שקוצים can only refer to the idols themselves.

Ewald renders the passage, "and indeed on account of the frightful climax of abominations." But he is obliged to confess that "כנף is very rarely used in the purely figurative sense of

the extremity." And to this we may add, that משמם cannot be shown to have ever been used in the sense of *frightful*.

Whilst *Ewald* lets the words slip, others, in direct opposition to the true character of the whole prophecy, connect them with what follows, so as to make a long straggling sentence, which is peculiarly inappropriate as a conclusion.

Auberlen renders it thus: "And for the devastating climax of abominations and until the completion, and indeed that which is determined, it will drip over that which is laid desolate." We have here a false rendering of כנף, in which *Auberlen* follows *Ewald*,[1] and also of שקוצים. It is the more natural to understand by משמם the destroyer, in the literal sense of the word, as such a destroyer had already been mentioned. *Auberlen* ought to have hesitated all the more, therefore, before he set aside any distinct reference to the temple, seeing that he actually does speak of the words as containing such an allusion.

Hitzig's first translation of the words was this: "And over the summit of the abomination of desolation and unto . . . it will be poured out." In defence of the rendering *abomination of desolation*, for שקוצים משמם, he quoted Is. xix. 4, אֲדֹנִים קָשֶׁה, where we also find a plural noun coupled with a singular adjective. But who would draw the conclusion from such an example as this, that *every* plural might stand for a singular. This is really the case with but a small and well defined class of nouns, in which the plural form is merely used to show that the word is employed as an abstract, not that the thing itself may also be regarded as an abstract; for example, אֲדֹנִים and also בְּעָלִים and אֱלֹהִים, when used directly to signify dominion. Now, if the same rule were applied to שִׁקּוּצִים, which is never used in any other sense than as an actual plural, it could only be rendered: destructive abomination, or idolatry. But what would this mean? Could the lifeless idols of Antiochus Epiphanes be regarded as the authors of desolation? And what could we understand by "over the wing, or over the *point* of the destructive abomination?" We need scarcely say that

[1] *Auberlen* must certainly have found it difficult to make up his mind to speak of an "accidental analogy in the πτερύγιον of Matt. iv. 5."

with this explanation there is inseparably connected a false rendering of כלה ונחרצה, as well as of תתך and שמם.

Hitzig's present rendering is "abomination of horror," or "horrible abomination" *(Entsetzens-gräuel)*. משמם is said to be a neuter noun, pointing out the object of amazement and horror. שמם, which occurs afterwards, is an abbreviation of משמם. The object referred to is the heathen altar of sacrifice. But we can find no really analogous example of a "neuter substantive" in such a form as this. Is. xlix. 7, where מתעב is used for an object of abhorrence, is said to present the closest analogy; but both this and liii. 3 can only be made to bear upon the question by being falsely rendered. It is evident that משמם is a participle, both from the form, and also from Ezra ix. 3, 4. As a *Poel* participle it can only be rendered in one of two ways; either in an active sense, which most naturally suggests itself in this "most emphatic active root," or as marking a gradation, which is the case in Ezra ix. Again, if משמם were a substantive, the מ could not be dropped. Moreover, if this explanation is correct, we cannot see why שקוץ should stand in the plural.—*Wieseler* justly observes: "one argument against the supposed combination of the two words may be found in the fact, that, in the only passage in which it really occurs (Dan. xi. 31), the singular השקוץ is employed. We are forced to the conclusion, therefore, that the plural שקוצים is purposly introduced here, especially as this is the only place in which it occurs in the Book of Daniel; and that the object has been to prevent its being connected with משמם, which would otherwise have been an admissible construction." Lastly, any allusion to the point of the altar would be altogether out of place.

"*And indeed until that which is completed and determined shall pour down upon the ruins.*"

We will first enquire into the meaning of כָּלָה. Commentators and Lexicographers generally assume that the word means *completion*, and that it is used here for the complete destruction. The form of the word is sufficient in itself to excite suspicion as

to the correctness of this explanation. It is the feminine of the adjective כָּלָה as יָפָה is of יָפֶה. The masculine occurs in Deut. xxviii. 32 in the sense of *deficiens, tabescens.* The form כָּלָה, from a verb לָהָה, answers to such forms as כָּתֵב, in derivations from the regular verbs, which are always adjectives with an intransitive signification, never abstract nouns, and least of all abstracts with a transitive meaning. The inference, which we draw from the form, is confirmed by the usages of the language. כָּלָה is never used in any other sense than as a feminine, or neuter, that (which is) completed. A very obvious example of this we find in Zeph. i. 18, where כָּלָה is connected with another participle, "for the Lord does a completed (work), a fearful thing only, (בהל in the Niphal never means directly *to make haste*), with all the inhabitants of the land." This is also clearly the case in the passage before us, and in Is. x. 23, xxviii. 22, where כָּלָה is connected in precisely the same manner with another participle. From this meaning of כלה we may explain the adverbial use of the word in Gen. xviii. 21; Ex. xi. 1; and 2 Chr. xii. 11; *completely*, entirely and very. It suits the connexion in Dan. xi. 16 "a completed (work) is in his hand," in contrast with the imperfect execution of his decree. And it is equally applicable to the frequently recurring expression עשה כלה. This means, sometimes, "to do a complete thing, to carry a thing perfectly out, to put the finishing stroke," Jer. iv. 27, v. 10, 17, (with persons) Nahum i. 9; at other times, with an accusative, to make a thing or a person into something finished, completely to destroy, Neh. ix. 31; Jer. xxx. 11; Ezek. xi. 13, xx. 17; Nahum i. 8. The meaning given by *Hävernick* to the expression in Ezek. xi. 13, "to execute a final sentence," does not suit the last two passages. With such a rendering, it is impossible to explain the use of the accusative.

The completion may refer to the determination itself, or to the execution of it. The verb כָּלָה is not infrequently used to denote the completeness of a determination. For example, 1 Sam. xx. 7, "if he, Saul, be wroth, know that evil is completed on his part," that he has formed a fixed and unalterable determination to do evil; and again at ver. 9;—1 Sam. xxv. 17:

"now therefore consider, and look what thou doest, כִּי־כָלְתָה הָרָעָה, for evil is firmly determined for our master, and for all his household;"—Esther vii. 7, "for Haman saw, כִּי־כָלְתָה אֵלָיו הָרָעָה, that evil was firmly determined against him by the king." These passages show that the *completion* not only refers to a determination generally, but that it was especially restricted by usage to the completion of a determination to do any one an injury. It never occurs in a good sense (compare Prov. xxii. 8, and *Schultens* on the passage). Our adjective כָּלָה is also used in 1 Sam. xx. 33 to indicate such a fixed determination: "and Jonathan knew כִּי־כָלָה הִוא, that it was a fixed determination on the part of his father, to slay David." Now it is evident that, in this passage also, כלה refers to something completed, not in the performance, but only so far as the determination was concerned; *first*, from its being connected with another word, which denotes the firm and unalterable character of a determination; *secondly*, from the word חָתַךְ, which is always used to denote the cause of destruction, whether it be the wrath of God, or the sentence of God, but never the destruction itself; and *thirdly*, from Is. xxviii. 22, where the כלה ונחרצה (the same combination as we have here) is described as an object of *hearing*, "I heard from the Lord, the Almighty, a completed and determined thing."

There is thus a perfect similarity between the relation, in which the two words stand to each other in the passage before us, and that which we find in these two passages of Isaiah;[1] and this similarity renders it extremely probable, that when thus associated they had become current as a legal term, expressive of the last fixed and irrevocable sentence, particularly in cases of capital crime.

We do not regard this clause as a perfectly independent one, as many expositors do, who render it "until the completion it will drip," &c.; but we connect it with the preceding clause, thus: "over the wing of abominations comes the destroyer, and indeed," &c. That this is correct, is proved in part by the words

[1] Vitringa has given a correct interpretation, founded upon Rom. ix. 27, but the explanation given by *Gesenius* and others is incorrect.

כלה נחרצה, when rightly understood. For, if this must necessarily mean the determination, the final sentence, in contradistinction to the smaller amount of chastisement resolved upon before, עַד cannot denote the termination of the dripping. The punishment inflicted by God does not terminate with the final sentence, but this is rather the first commencement of its fearful manifestation. Moreover, according to our interpretation the verb תִּתַּךְ receives the subject which naturally belongs to it, viz., the final sentence, which is regarded as dripping down, because with God decree and execution coincide. Thus, in ver. xi. it is said: "Then the curse was poured upon us, and the oath, that is written in the law of Moses;" and in Mal. ii. 2: "I send you the curse;" and in Zech. v. 4, the roll inscribed with the curse, comes to the house of the thief and perjured man and destroys it. But if the clause be regarded as independent, תִּתַּךְ must be rendered as an impersonal verb, which it never is elsewhere, and certainly cannot be here, seeing that it occurs in ver. 11 with a definite subject. We need not say, that the Vav in וְעַד does not furnish a valid ground of objection to our explanation, for Vav is frequently used in the less restricted sense of *et quidem*, *e.g.* in ver. 25, וּבְצוֹק, compare Jer. xv. 13. *Καὶ* occurs in the same sense in John i. 16.[1]

The expression "it will pour down over" is founded upon the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha, as the type of all the subsequent judgments of God. In its primary signification נָתַךְ is applied to the falling of *natural* rain (2 Sam. xxi. 10; Ex. ix.

[1] See *Gesenius Lehrgebäude*, p. 845, and *Ewald* § 330 b. *Wieseler* is of opinion that "the meaning assigned to *Vav* only applies to cases, in which it stands before a singular noun, or a clause governed by a preposition, but not when it stands before so long and independent a sentence as this is, consisting of conjunction, subject, and verb." But the point in question cannot really be, whether *Vav* has any peculiar *meaning;* it is simply used on several occasions, when we should write "and indeed," or "and that." Again, the distinction drawn between עד as a preposition and as a conjunction, can hardly be regarded as well-founded. Where it appears to stand as a conjunction, the whole clause is treated as a noun, a thing of frequent occurrence in Hebrew. But even if we were obliged to admit the force of *Wieseler's* objection, it would be easy to evade it by a slight modification of our rendering. Nothing more would be necessary than to supply the relative before תתך as *Blomstrand* and others have done.

33). But the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrha was caused by a *supernatural* rain, ("God *rained* fire and brimstone upon Sodom and Gomorrha," Gen. xix. 24). This passage of Genesis is taken as the basis of many others, in which the fate of the ungodly is depicted. The passages, in which the allusion is most distinct, are Ps. xi. 6, and Ezek. xxxviii. 22: "fire and brimstone will I rain upon him." But the reference is also apparent in the following passages, which are more closely related to our own: 2 Chr. xxxiv. 21, "great is the wrath (literally the *heat)* of the Lord, that has poured down upon us (נִתְּכָה בָנוּ), because our fathers have not observed the word of the Lord, to do according to all that is written in this book;" 2 Chr. xii. 7, "and my wrath will not pour down נתך upon Jerusalem;" Jer. vii. 20: "behold mine anger and my fury are poured out נִתָּכֵת upon this place, *over* (as in the passage before us) man and beast, and over tree of the field, and over fruit of the earth, and it burns and is not quenched;"—Jer. xlii. 18: "as my anger and my fury hath poured down (נתך) *over* the inhabitants of Jerusalem, so will my fury pour down (תתך) over you, when ye come to Egypt;"—Jer. xliv. 6: "my fury and mine anger pour down (see Is. xlii. 25, where חֲמָה אַפּוֹ are used as a compound word, my wrath-fury), and burn in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, and they become a ruin and a desolation;" see also Nahum i. 6; Lamentations ii. 4; and Is. xlii. 25. It is very evident from these parallel passages, that the fiery rain of the wrath of God was a standing expression for the judgments, which issued in the destruction of the covenant nation, an expression so current, that we even meet with it in plain historical prose. Daniel, who had witnessed one such fiery rain (compare ver. 11), and who had just been interceding on behalf of the awful ruins, received for answer, that when they had been rebuilt, and after that, had excited the wrath of God to a more fearful extent than before, another fiery rain would lay them in ashes and ruins again. The expression always implies utter destruction, and for this reason we cannot think of the era of the Maccabees. To get rid of this unwelcome conclusion, most of the modern Maccabean expositors take שֹׁמֵם as an active verb, and thus divert the burning wrath from the covenant people to

the foe (*"over the destroyer"*), and, as we may readily suppose, there are not wanting Jewish commentators to bear them out in this, although with one accord they refer the prophecy to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans. *Abarbanel* says: "besides this he remembers the desolation which will come upon the heathen themselves, and which will extend even to their utter destruction." The adoption of so ungrammatical an explanation is a proof, that no other resource could be thought of. The verb שָׁמֵם is always intransitive, and never means *to devastate*. To show this we will look through all the passages, that are quoted as examples of this meaning. In Ez. xxxvi. 3 יַעַן שַׁמּוֹת is usually rendered *propterea quod devastant vos*. But it ought rather to be translated, "because ye *are desolate*, and because they earnestly strive after you, to make you a possession of the heathen." This is evident from ver. 4, where the desolation caused by the Chaldeans, and, after this, the misery which the sufferers had to endure from their haughty neighbours, are represented as the cause of the active display of the divine compassion. (We find the two invariably associated in the complaints that were uttered at the time). For "the desolate ruins" חָרְבוֹת שִׁמְמוֹת, and "the forsaken cities," exactly correspond to שַׁמּוֹת. Throughout the whole of the prophecy the surrounding nations are never charged with the desolation of the land of Israel, but only with cruel insults and rapine. The desolation is always described as Chaldean.—Appeal is also made to Dan. viii. 13, where הַפֶּשַׁע שֹׁמֵם is supposed to mean "abomination of the destroyer." But the grammatical obstacles in the way of such a rendering are so conspicuous, that *Gesenius* and *Winer* have been induced in consequence to substitute פֶּשַׁע הַשֹּׁמֵם, and thus to bear their testimony to the fact, that they could not venture to apply their own principles of interpretation to what is *actually* in the text. We have already shown that the explanation, which must be given, is this, "how long does the vision last, the continual thing (the sacred worship) and the wickedness (the covenant people as a living sin; for a similar personification see Zech. v. 8, where the Israelitish nation is spoken of as ungodliness, personified under the

image of a woman, and again Mal. i. 4), as laid waste." הַתָּמִיד requires that שֹׁמֵם should be rendered as a passive. For what could we understand by "how long does the constant thing last," when it is evident from the context, that reference must be made to the length of the period of suspension? The meaning therefore must be, how long does the continual thing last as a thing *destroyed*. Thus in the parallel and explanatory clause מִרְמָס belongs equally to both קֹדֶשׁ and צָבָא (army). In connection with the former, it corresponds to הַתָּמִיד, and with the latter to הַפֶּשַׁע. Lastly, appeal is also made to Dan. xii. 11, "and from the time that the constant thing is taken away, וְלָתֵת שִׁקּוּץ שֹׁמֵם." The rendering given here is "and the devastating abomination given," which makes the clause a part of the description of the starting point. But the difficulty in this case is, that the *terminus ad quem* is entirely wanting, and in addition to this it is impossible to shut one's eyes to the evident antithesis in the words, "they give the abomination as a destroying one," in chap. xi. 31. The words must be taken, therefore, as determining the final point; from the time when the continual thing has been taken away, and up to the time when the abomination is given as a thing destroyed, that is, up to the time, when the abomination, which has been already represented as the author of desolation, in other words, as bringing desolation in its train by the law of retribution, is itself laid waste, and the sanctuary justified, as we find it expressed in Dan. viii. 14. This explanation is confirmed by ver. 7, where לְ is used, in the same manner as here, to point out the *terminus ad quem*.—There is all the less room to translate שֹׁמֵם by *destroyer* in this passage, on account of the evident antithesis of מְשֹׁמֵם and שֹׁמֵם as *agens* and *patiens*, which prohibits the identification of the two, and also because the participle שֹׁמֵם is used once more in this section (ver. 26), as well as in the other portion of the chapter, in an intransitive sense. To this it must be added, that in the passages of Isaiah, to which there is an allusion here, as there is in chap. xi. 36 to Is. x. 25, the *finished* thing and the *firmly determined* thing refer to the judgment upon Judah, not to the heathen

destroyer; and also that שומם is never applied to a single individual in the other passages in which it occurs.

As משמם is masculine and has the force of a substantive, it is most natural to construe שומם in the same way: not "over the ruined (temple)," but simply "over the ruined one." The ruined one is an ideal person, like the Sabbath in Is. lviii. 13. Taking it in connection with what precedes, we may either think of the city and temple, or, what really comes to the same thing, of Israel itself; compare Lam. iii. 11, "he hath made me *Shomem*," and chap. i. 13.

Wieseler objects to the explanation we have given, as a whole, on the ground that "it makes the prophecy conclude with the most terrible of all the calamities, which could possibly befal the Jewish nation. Daniel would thus have prayed in vain for the preservation of the city and sanctuary. Passing calamities might befal the nation and the sanctuary. But the deliverance promised at the end would certainly afford them consolation and peace."—Seventy weeks of years, during which the city and temple would continue to stand, had been announced to Daniel in answer to his prayer, whilst the fresh destruction, predicted here, was not to take place, till the true covenant-people had received a rich compensation. And what is not irregular in *history*, cannot be so in *prophecy*.

Another of *Wieseler's* objections is this: "the clause commencing with ועד would then contain the culminating point of the divine judgments, slighter punishments having gone before. But, as the destruction of the temple is threatened in the foregoing משמם, what other calamity of a more grievous kind could still befal the temple and the Jewish nation?" The climax, however, consists in this, that prominence is given here to the final and lasting character of this catastrophe, which distinguished it from earlier chastisements, the Chaldean, for example, in which the destroyer also came over the temple.

Let us take a glance now at a few of the other explanations which differ from our own.

V. Lengerke renders the passage, "and indeed until the *completion* and (until) the decree shall pour down over the *destroyer*." We have already shown that this is a false rendering of both כלה

and שומם. Again כלה and נחרצה are separated, contrary to the passage in Isaiah upon which this is based.

The same objection applies to *Wieseler's* rendering: "and until it is finished, that which is determined will pour down over the wasted one." The subject to כלה is also said to be "the half week referred to immediately before." But it is the *middle* of the week, not the half week, that is spoken of in the previous clause. Moreover, *until* ought in that case to be *when*. *Wieseler* admits that שומם never can by any possibility mean destroyer, but only destroyed (desolate). But his assumption cannot be sustained, that "the wasted one" is used here in the sense of "that which is to be laid waste," or, to quote his own words, that "it ought properly to be read, over him, so that he is laid waste." The destroyer, according to the previous clause, comes over the temple, or Israel. It must be the latter, therefore, which is here represented as the wasted one. If any other had been intended it must have been stated more clearly.

Ewald translates it: "still until *destruction* and determination pour down upon the *terrible* thing."

Hitzig explains it thus: "and over the summit of the horrifying abomination, and unto the *extermination* and *decree*, it (the extermination) will pour down upon the *horrible thing*." According to this, the object of the pouring would be mentioned twice.

Auberlen's exposition is the following: "and until the completion (till the determined end of the desolation arrives, and the promised kingdom of God comes) it will pour down over that which is desolate." This is opposed to the meaning of כלה and also to the primary passage in Isaiah. Moreover, the subject of תתך is lost in this case; and *Auberlen* tries to recover it from ver. 11!

PRECISION OF THE DATES.

The prevalent opinion among both Jews and Christians has always been, that the seventy weeks, and also the shorter periods

into which they are divided, are fixed with precision, and clearly defined. It is enough to excite suspicion, as to the correctness of the opposite view, that it has only been entertained by persons, whose hypotheses clash with chronology, (such as *Bleek*, for example, who has the chronology against him in all his three periods), or by those who have no taste for chronological researches. Although this rarely happens, we must make a careful distinction between what is subjectively indefinite, and what is objectively so. To establish the former it would be necessary to prove, that the chronology of the different periods was altogether uncertain, from the outset to the close. But, as no such proof can be adduced, and the divine wisdom is shown in the fact, that the time fixed for the coming of the Messiah falls at a period, when chronology rests upon the surest foundations, both because we have at command several distinct eras, which we can compare together, and also because we have the testimony of many contemporaneous authors of different nations, the assumption is one, which must be unhesitatingly rejected. In support of the latter, namely, that the chronological data are only given in the gross, the following arguments have been adduced.

1. We are told, that "it is very clear, that the שָׁבֻעִים (the weeks) are chosen as the measure of time, principally because of their similarity to the numeral שִׁבְעִים (seventy) in the two prophecies of Jeremiah."—2. That "it is evident, that the number of these is fixed at seventy, for no other reason, than because the absolute necessity of making them correspond to the seventy years of Jeremiah required it, and precluded the selection of any other number." This is *Bertholdt's* opinion. It is certainly correct, that the seventy weeks of restoration are closely related to the seventy years of desolation. But what follows from this? The starting point was so chosen, that this reference was accurately borne out by the result. And the fact, that there exists this difference between the starting point of the seventy weeks and the *terminus ad quem* of Jeremiah, is a proof of the intention to mark the time with precision.—3. *Cocceius* says, "it is incredible that God should have desired to make faith dependent upon chronology." But if the idea, which lies at the basis of this

argument, be correct, we might prove that every translation of the sacred Scriptures must be inspired. For otherwise, faith would depend upon philology. And it might also be proved, that all historical researches, as to the canonicity of the biblical books, are useless. The argument does not affect our prophecy, any more than any of the others, which have a determinate chronology. And if the existence of one such prophecy can be demonstrated, it follows at once, that the argument must be founded upon erroneous premises. Do those, who have no taste for chronological researches, or cannot engage in them, receive any *less*, because provision is made for those who possess both the talent and the taste? Is not the declaration itself still there, as much as in the case of the other Messianic prophecies? And is it not true of *all* the external evidences of the divinity of Christianity, that no man can find them out for himself, unless he possesses the requisite knowledge for submitting them to a test? Can any one of these prophecies be properly tested, without any knowledge at all? Is it not indispensably necessary, even to discern an *approximation* to fulfilment? And will any one venture to draw the line, beyond which God must not go? Are all the evidences of Christianity intended for every man? Is it not, rather, true, that God in his wisdom and love has taken care, that every one, who is open to conviction, shall find some of these evidences within his reach? Shall any man, who is not at home in some one of the departments, in which God has deposited marks of his truth, look with an evil eye upon this manifestation of the benevolence of God? Shall the Christian historian, for example, be envied, because the evidence afforded by the wondrous effects of Christianity, unfolds itself to him with greater clearness and perfection, than to a man who is more or less unfitted for the study of history? And lastly, do not the gifts in the church exist for the good of the whole? Does not the research, which has been directed by the Spirit of God, and the results of which have been handed down as a traditional inheritance within the church, confer a benefit even upon those, who have not been actively engaged themselves, but who receive the results with confidence?[1]

[1] With this reply to the objection offered by *Cocceius*, compare the reply given by *Sack* in his *Apologetik*, Ed. 2 p. 336: "As chronology could not be

The arguments in favour of the definite character of chronological data, are just as strong, as those on the opp side are weak and slender.

1. The seventy weeks are very closely related to the se years of Jeremiah. The chronological precision of the fo rests upon precisely the same proofs as that of the latter. the evidence is easily produced. That Daniel looked upo seventy years as a definite period is apparent, as even *Len* acknowledges, from the prayer which he offered in the f ninth year, and which was founded upon the assumption, the period was close at hand, when this prophecy of Jere was to be fulfilled. But, even if any doubts had been entert on this point previous to the fulfilment, they would all when the prediction was actually accomplished.

We have proved, in the *Dissertation on Daniel* (p. 147 t lation), that the first year of Cyrus was exactly seventy from the period from which Jeremiah reckons, viz., the f year of Jehoiakim; see also *Küper* Jeremias, p. 64, *Kl* Jesaias xciv. 137. I have also shown, in my treatise *de Tyriorum*, that the Tyrian chronology leads to the same r *Steudel* objects (p. 14 sqq.), that "seventy years are allott Jeremiah to the Babylonian captivity, whereas it only l sixty-eight years." But the two years of Darius the Mec regarded as a continuation of the tyranny of Babylon over Ju for it still existed in substance, and did not actually term till the first year of Cyrus. With reference to *Steudel's* c tion, founded upon Zech. i. 12, where the affliction is desc as having lasted seventy years in the second year of Dariu our remarks on the passage itself. Again *Steudel* observes "in 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21, the seventy years of Jeremiah are s of, as relating to the devastation of the land, which really

determined with precision by every reader of the Scriptures in Israel; was left for those, who could only fix upon the starting point, as falling where within the period of the commandments and permissions issued Persian kings, was a *general calculation* as to the time when the Messi to be expected; though the space, over which it would extend, would very large. But this was amply sufficient to strengthen faith and he expectation; and in this sense we may also say of modern readers Scriptures, that, even if the methods and results of learned chronc researches are beyond their reach, the simplest historical knowledge i cient to produce a conviction in the mind, that the prophecy was fulfi Christ."

but fifty-two years." The author of the Chronicles, he argues, must therefore have taken the seventy years to be a round number. But the desolation of the land had existed in the germ, and in its earliest stages, from the fourth year of Jehoiakim, and merely reached its height in the destruction of the temple. As a general rule, captivity and desolation go hand in hand. *Lengerke* (p. 430) renews the assertion, that in Jer. xxv. 11, 12, and xxix. 10, the number seventy is used in connection with two distinct events, which differed in the period of their commencement. But we have shown, on the contrary, in our *Dissertation*, p. 146, that the second passage points back to the first, that there is but *one* starting point, and that this is to be found in the earlier of the two passages.

2. All the other chronological statements made by Daniel, with reference to the future, are definite in their character. It is universally admitted, that those contained in chap. viii. and xii., in connection with the Maccabean era, are not only true to the year, but to the day. It is evident too, from chap. iv. 34, that the period fixed for Nebuchadnezzar's madness was chronologically exact, "at the end of the (appointed) days;" although the measure of time, actually adopted, had to be determined by the fulfilment.

3. The prophecy itself bears all the marks of chronological precision. We have already shown in the explanation, that this is clearly indicated by the expression נֶחְתָּךְ. The *terminus a quo* and the *terminus ad quem* are not left indefinite, but are fixed by very distinct events. Not only is the entire period of seventy weeks divided into three parts of seven, sixty-two, and one, but the latter is divided again into two equal portions. How could this be done, if half a century more or less made no difference? God himself would have given occasion to doubt his own word, if a prophecy containing all the marks of chronological exactness was proved by the fulfilment to have been quite indefinite.

4. If these reasons were insufficient to decide the question, which they are not, the solution must be sought in the fulfilment; and whichever explanation coincided with this, would be the correct one.

Of course, the exactness, which we maintain to exist, cannot be greater than the circumstances themselves admit of. It can

only exist in its fullest extent, in connection with announcements, such as the greater part of those contained in our prophecy, which have respect to one particular and sharply bounded point of time. In the case of events, which from their nature cannot have such precise limits,—the completion of the building of the city, for example, and the subjective appropriation of the blessings of salvation procured by Christ,—the precision of prophecy could not surpass the precision of history.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

We have already shown in our exposition, that we are not to look for this at the commencement of the rebuilding of the city generally; but rather at the time when the work of restoring the city in its former extent and grandeur was first taken in hand. We have now to determine, by the light of history, in what year this actually occurred.

If the reference were simply to the commencement of the rebuilding, it would unquestionably be correct to fix upon the first year of Cyrus as the starting point, as some have actually done. Isaiah celebrates Kores as the builder of the city (chap. xlv. 13), and all the sacred writings, which treat of the period between Cyrus and Nehemiah, evidently assume the existence of a Jerusalem, during that period of time.

But clearly defined as the starting point is in this prophecy, it can neither be assigned to the first year of Cyrus, as it is by one; nor to the second year of Darius Hystaspes, as it is by another; nor to the seventh year of Artaxerxes, as it is by a third. *Up to the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, what had once been the city of Jerusalem was an open village, thinly populated, and exposed to injury of every kind from those who dwelt around.* It bore the same relation to both the earlier and the later city, as the huts, which are run up after a city has been destroyed by fire, as a shelter from rain and wind, bear to the city itself, both before the fire and after its restoration. In the broad space, single dwellings rose up amidst the rubbish, which

lay heaped up around the city to such an extent, that it was impossible to complete the road all round it.

We will first of all dispose of the arguments, which have been brought against this view of the state of Jerusalem. "In Haggai i. 4," it is argued, "we find these words, 'is it a time for you to dwell in your cieled houses, and my house is waste.'" But this passage merely proves the existence of certain "cieled houses," and is by no means at variance with the view we have given of the state of Jerusalem. Stress is laid again upon Ezra iv. 12, where the enemies of the Jews are said to have written to Artachshasta, "be it known unto the king, that the Jews, which came up from thee to us, are come unto Jerusalem, to build the rebellious and the bad city, and to finish the walls and restore the ruins," compared with ver. 16, "we make known to the king, that if this city be builded again, and the walls thereof completed, there will be no portion for thee on this side of the river." Artachshasta is not Smerdis, but Artaxerxes, in this as in every other passage of the Bible. Vers. 6—23 form a parenthesis, relating to the city and walls; and the design is to show, that the hostility of the enemies of the Jews was brought to bear upon them even here. These results have lately been thoroughly demonstrated by *Schultz (Cyrus der Grosse*, Studien und Kritiken, 1853). But the passage proves the very opposite of what it is said to prove. We learn from it, that, in the time of Artaxerxes, Jerusalem was completely in ruins, and that the attempt to put an end to this mournful condition entirely failed. The attempt was probably made after the arrival of Ezra, which had put fresh spirits into the people. They hoped indeed for the connivance of the government; but they deceived themselves, when they cherished such hopes as these.

"The authority of Ezra," says *Auberlen*, p. 119, "was so extensive, that the rebuilding of the city was essentially involved in that authority. This is very clearly and simply expressed by Ezra himself, when he says in his penitential prayer (chap. ix. 9): our God hath extended mercy unto us in the sight of the kings of Persia, so that they cause us to revive, to raise up the house of our God, and to repair the desolations thereof, and *so that they give us walls* in Judah and Jerusalem (גדר, a walling round; not merely building, but, as it were, fortifying the city.)"

—To this we reply, that it is stated in Ezra vii. 11, "now thes are the contents of the letter, which the king, Artachshasta, gav to Ezra, the priest, the scribe, who was learned in the command ments of the Lord and his laws for Israel." In this descriptio of Ezra, the whole extent of his royal authority is contained. I refers solely and exclusively to the sphere of religious worshi and it is with great truth that *Schultz* has said: "the hands c Ezra the priest were only loosed in matters connected with th temple; in every other respect they were still firmly bounc And Nehemiah was the first to receive permission to buil the city and its walls, which Artachshasta, in his unfavourabl edict, had not indeed represented as impossible, but which h had hitherto withheld." And if we look at the edict, which wa issued by Ezra himself, we shall see that the meaning, given b *Auberlen* to chap. ix. 9, is *a priori* inadmissible. The liter rendering of the passage is this: "and has inclined favour t us before the kings of Persia, to give us life, to raise the hous of our God, and to set up its ruins, and to give us a fence, i Judah and Jerusalem." The blessing, conferred by God, is th restoration of the temple alone. In connexion with this, bot life and the fence are given. The fence (גדר is an enclosure, fence, a wall, and is principally applied to the defences of a vine yard, but never to city-walls, see the remarks in Ps. lxxxix. 4 and Micah vii. 11) is taken from Is. v. 5, where it is used to denot the divine protection. And the pledge of the renewal of tha protection was just the sanctuary. The same idea is expresse in ver. 8: "and that he may give us a peg—a sure existence— in his holy place."

Lastly, appeal is made to Nehem. i. 3: "and they (those wh had come from Jerusalem to the Persian palace) said to me the remnant, that are left of the captivity there in the city, ar in great misery and reproach, and the wall of Jerusalem i broken down, and the gates thereof are burned with fire." Fron this *Michaelis* and others, who follow him, say that "it neces sarily follows, that the walls of Jerusalem had been first of al rebuilt by those who had returned, and then destroyed a secon time by the surrounding tribes. For Nehemiah cannot hav been ignorant that the walls had been demolished by Nebuchad nezzar, and therefore this cannot have furnished a fresh occasio

for his grief." But what is there to force us to the conclusion, that the visitors brought some intelligence, that was quite new to Nehemiah? He was not ignorant of the fact that the walls and gates had never been rebuilt; but the excitement of a court life had absorbed his attention. Now, however, the contrast between the promise, and that which was actually to be witnessed, stood out with peculiar vividness before his mind; and he was impelled to offer an earnest intercessory prayer, which prepared the way for its removal. The inference is no better and no worse, than that which has been drawn from the impression made upon Josiah by the reading of the law, namely, that he was entirely ignorant of it before. Are we justified in concluding that, because the people wept when Ezra read the law to them (Neh. viii. 9), they had never known anything of it before? Moreover, the relation, in which the words, "they are in great misery and reproach," stand to the clause, "the walls are destroyed," &c., is that of effect and cause. Nehemiah had never thought before of the things which were told him now, namely, that the destruction of the walls exerted a most pernicious influence, and completely hindered the rebuilding of the city, by exposing its inhabitants to all the insult and injury that would be heaped upon them by their enemies round about. The ruined condition of the walls, therefore, appeared to him now in a very different light; and whilst it pained him, it also led him to offer prayer, and to form plans for bringing active assistance. The following positive proofs may be adduced, that the Chaldean destruction of the walls and gates is referred to here, and that they continued in this state of ruin until the time of Nehemiah: 1. The description of the Chaldean destruction, which we find in Lam. ii. 8, 9, is precisely the same, so far as the walls and gates are concerned, as that which is given here (compare also 2 Kings xxv. 10).—2. The enemies of the Jews only know of one destruction, and that one of distant date; compare Nehemiah iv. 2, where Sanballat says: "what do the withered (feeble) Jews? will they give life to the stones out of the heaps of rubbish which have been burned up?"—3. The Book of Ezra does not say a single word about the walls being restored. And yet we can hardly imagine, that such an event would be passed over in silence; an event, the importance of

which may be seen from the fact that, when it was in actual progress, the enemies of the Jews tried to prevent it, both by stratagem and force, and that nothing excited their anger so much as this. Moreover, in Ezra iv., we may find positive proofs that the walls were not rebuilt. And the second portion of Zechariah (chap. xiv. 10 sqq.), which was written after the sixth year of Darius, when compared with several passages of Nehemiah, which are quoted there, clearly shows that, at the time of both these writers, the walls and gates were in the same state, as that in which the Chaldeans left them, with the very same fragments standing as they had spared, and no others. See also Neh. iii. 8: "and they finished Jerusalem, as far as the broad wall;" from which it is evident, that they did not require to rebuild the broad wall, to the west of the Ephraim's gate, which was still standing, according to the passages already quoted (compare 2 Chr. xxvi. 9), the strength given to this wall by Uzziah having kept it from falling down. There is no notice of permission to rebuild the city and walls, in the edicts of any of the Persian kings. And who would venture to maintain, that this was self-evident? It is one thing to let a defenceless people return home, and quite a different thing to furnish them with means of defence, which might be turned against the giver himself, in the event of a general revolution. The latter presupposes an amount of confidence, such as we never meet with in the monarchs of Asia, who were well aware, that their power was based upon the weakness of their subjects; and nothing but the close relation, in which Nehemiah stood to Artaxerxes, could account for the exception in this instance; especially when we consider that the Jews, as we learn from Ezra iv., had been accused of a disposition to rebel.

This refutation of the arguments, adduced in opposition to the view we have given of the condition of Jerusalem up to the time of Nehemiah, contains, in part, the positive evidence of the correctness of that view; and hence we only need to make the evidence complete.

In Zechariah the condition of Jerusalem is represented, throughout, as merely temporary. According to chap. i. 16 the measuring line is not to be drawn over Jerusalem, till a later period. In ver. 12 the time then present is spoken of, as belong-

ng to the period of affliction, not to that of restoration; it is merely a supplement to the Chaldean captivity. According to chap. ii., the future alone will witness the completion of the destruction of Babylon, and the rebuilding of Jerusalem; in fact everything, that has yet been done in connexion with the latter, is so insignificant, that it is hardly taken into consideration; and the prophet speaks as if the building would be altogether new. Compare, particularly, ver. 1, "And behold a man with a measuring line in his hand. Then said I, whither goest thou? And he said to me, to measure Jerusalem, to see what is the breadth thereof, and what is the length thereof." In chap. vii. 7, the time past, when Jerusalem was seated and contented, is contrasted with the present. Jerusalem, therefore, was still a city; though (לֹא תֵשֵׁב) it was not seated, but prostrate. In chap. viii. 5, the prophet predicts, that the streets of the city will one day be full of boys and girls, playing in the streets thereof; and we may see how little there was at that time, to bear out the prediction, from the fact that, in ver. 6, he feels it necessary to remind those, to whom such a change in the state of things appeared strange and incredible, of the omnipotence of God.

Under Ezra, and notwithstanding his commission, the degraded and sorrowful condition of the people still continued. He says this himself, as plainly as possible, in chap. ix. 7: "Since the days of our fathers have we been in a great trespass *unto this day;* and for our iniquities have we, our kings, and our priests, been delivered into the hand of the kings of the lands, to the sword, to captivity, and to a spoil and to confusion of face, *as it is this day.*" There was only a small beginning of grace, in the preservation of a remnant and the restoration of the sanctuary, ver. 8, 9, 15.[1]

[1] In order to be able to transpose the point, from which the seventy weeks of years are reckoned, to the seventh year of Artaxerxes, the year in which Ezra came to Jerusalem, *Auberlen* was obliged to given an incorrect description of the nature of Ezra's mission, and the character of his times. He thinks (p. 113) that, "so far as the historical matter is concerned, the first part of the Book of Ezra forms a complete work; whilst the second part is closely connected with the Book of Nehemiah, and the two together make up a perfect historical picture." "The first period after the captivity," he says, "we may call the period of the building of the temple; the second, represented by Ezra and Nehemiah, that of the restoration of the people, and the building of the city; the first, the period of religious

The same picture, of the state of things in existence previous to the arrival of Nehemiah, is given in the book of which he was the author. That the number of inhabitants was very small, is evident from the expression, "the remnant, that are left of the captivity there in the city." From this it seems to follow, that the small number of inhabitants in Jerusalem had diminished in the interval between Zechariah and Nehemiah. The people may have been wearied out by the constant annoyances, to which they were exposed from enemies, who made Jerusalem their peculiar mark; and they may therefore have scattered themselves over the rest of the land. But it is from chap. ii. 3 and 5, more especially, that we see how little there is to warrant the idea, that the city was restored before the time of Nehemiah. In that passage, Nehemiah is represented as saying to Artaxerxes, "the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth *waste*, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire. Send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, that I may build it." From this it is evident, that there was so little difference between the condition of Jerusalem, as it was then, and as it had been during the captivity, that there was no necessity to make the slightest allusion to any change in this respect, and its existing state could be described in precisely the same terms, which are applied to its earlier condition in the chapter before us. That there was no exaggeration in the account, which Nehemiah gave to the king of Persia, is apparent from his description of what he saw, when he arrived at Jerusalem, "ye see the distress that

restoration; the second, that of the religious and political combined." But it is not an accidental circumstance, that in Neh. xii. 47, the contrast lies between Zerubbabel and Nehemiah, whilst Ezra is not even named; nor is it a mere accident that the mission of Ezra is recorded in the same book, which describes the work performed by Zerubbabel and Joshua. The whole of the book of Ezra centres in the temple. The mission of Ezra had reference to this quite as much as that of Zerubbabel and Joshua. No political changes were introduced by him. Ezra himself published the edict, in which Artachshasta prohibited the erection of the walls, and therefore of Jerusalem. There was, no doubt, an essential connection between the mission of Ezra and that of Nehemiah. Ezra's religious reformation was to secure the conditions, without which Nehemiah's political reform could not be carried into effect. But this connection, which is never expressly mentioned in the Scriptures, was too spiritual and refined, to come into consideration here. *What is required here is a massive starting point.* If it is certain, that Ezra had nothing directly to do with the restoration of the city, it is no less so, that his mission cannot have been the point from which the seventy years are reckoned.

we are in, how Jerusalem *lieth waste*, and the gates thereof are burned with fire" (ver. 17). Very striking too is the statement in Neh. vii. 4, "the city was broad and large, but the people were few therein, and there were no houses built." The reference here is to the period immediately following the erection of the city walls. Relying upon the promises of God, the people had built the walls upon their former plan; but the disproportion was most startling. The few houses in existence seemed almost lost, in the broad space within the walls.

Thus far, we have proved that the actual restoration of the city was not commenced before the time of Nehemiah. We shall now proceed to show, that it was by him, that the commencement was actually made. We may see from Ecclus. xlix. 13, that in later times he was regarded as the restorer, not only of the walls and gates, but also of the *city* itself: "among the elect was Neemias, whose renown is great, who raised up for us the walls that were fallen, and set up the gates and the bars, and raised up our ruins again." On the other hand, Joshua and Zerubbabel are celebrated in ver. 12, as the builders of the *temple*. But we can adduce a still stronger proof from the book of Nehemiah itself. From chap. xii. 43 we perceive, that the completion of the city walls was regarded as a great and glorious favour, conferred by the Lord upon his people, through the instrumentality of Nehemiah: "Also that day they offered great sacrifices and rejoiced, for God had made them rejoice with great joy, the wives also and the children rejoiced, so that the joy of Jerusalem was heard even afar off." The effect produced among the heathen round about, by the completion of the wall, is thus described in chap. vi. 15, 16: "so the wall was finished . . . . and it came to pass, that, when all our enemies heard thereof, and all the heathen that were about us saw these things, they were much cast down in their own eyes: for they perceived, that this work was wrought of our God." In close connexion with chap. vii. 4, where the course of the narrative is interrupted, merely for the purpose of relating certain things, which occurred between the determination and its complete execution, Nehemiah describes in chap. xi. 1, 2 the measures, which he adopted, to increase the number of inhabi-

tants in Jerusalem. At his instigation, first of all, the rulers of the people all came from the country into the city; after this, the tenth of the rest of the people were ordered to do the same; and lots were cast, to determine who should go. Lastly, a considerable number of families went, of their own accord, from the country into the city. This was at first regarded as a sacrifice, dictated by love to the theocracy, on account of the sudden rupture of every tie which necessarily attended it, but the same course was afterwards frequently adopted from necessity, by those who had no such motive to influence them. Jerusalem, being the only fortified city in the land, possessed so great an advantage in this respect, that every one, whose circumstances permitted it, was led to select it as a dwelling place. The erection of the walls of Jerusalem, and there being "no more a reproach," are represented in Neh. ii. 17 as inseparably connected. Partly for this reason, and partly, also, because the sanctuary was situated in Jerusalem, the Jews, who still continued to return from their dispersion, would not be likely to take up their abode anywhere else. Many were certainly induced to return by the intelligence, which they received, of the restoration of Jerusalem. How gloriously, and how quickly the city continued henceforward to grow,—whereas it had made no progress at all in the long interval between the first year of Cyrus and the time of Nehemiah,—will appear from the passages, which we shall presently quote from heathen writers.

The examination of the four Psalms, cxlvii.—cl., is also of interest in connexion with this question; for there is solid ground for believing, that they were sung at the dedication of the walls under Nehemiah. In these Psalms, "the plaintive tone, which runs through all the earlier Psalms composed after the captivity, even when combined with exultation, vanishes at once. Here, for the first time, the people appear again to rejoice in their existence." The security against danger from without, which had been obtained through the restoration of the walls, is represented in Ps. cxlvii. 13, 14 as the foundation of every other blessing: "he hath strengthened the bars of thy gates, and blessed thy children within thee. He maketh peace in thy borders, blesseth thee with the fat of the wheat." And again in

Ps. cxlviii. 14, we read: "He also exalted the horn of his people, the fame of all his saints, of the children of Israel, the nation that draws near to him."

If we endeavour now to determine the point of commencement still more precisely; the period which at once suggests itself, is that of Nehemiah's prayer for the restoration of the city (chap. i.). In answer to this prayer, the divine decree went forth to rebuild the city; and this is actually mentioned in ver. 25, as the point from which the seventy weeks are reckoned. To the hearing of this prayer Nehemiah traces all the rest; especially the readiness, with which Artaxerxes hearkened to his request (chap. ii. 8, 18).[1] Now this prayer was offered in the month Kislev, the third month of the civil year, in the twentieth year of Artaxerxes; and therefore, in our chronological reckoning of the seventy weeks, we have only to subtract nineteen whole years from Artaxerxes' reign.

We must now examine certain objections, that have been offered to the point of time, from which we date the commencement of the seventy years, in common with Julius Africanus, as quoted by *Jerome*, who is very correct, on the whole, in his exposition of our prophecy, except that he reckons by lunar years,[2] and also in common with the majority of commentators and certainly with the best. (1.) We are told, that "it was indispensable, that Daniel should survive the period of the issuing of the edict, referred to here; otherwise it would afford him no consolation, and he would not even have known when he was to begin to reckon; his own prophecy, therefore, would have been unintelligible to himself." This is *Hassencamp's* objection (über die 70 Wochen, p. 9 sqq.) But his argument is based upon the erroneous assumption, that the communication was made to Daniel simply for his own sake; whereas, according to the correct view, he was merely an instrument, through whom God revealed things, which could not be understood in their full extent for hundreds of years. We say according to the

[1] *Bengel*, ordo temp. p. 346. "Mandata regum (ἐξελθόντα δόγματα, ut habet phrasis Luc. ii. 1), illi verbo subserviebant."

[2] A mode of reckoning, which was never adopted by the Hebrews, and therefore is so thoroughly destitute of foundation, that we need not stop to prove its incorrectness; see, *per contra*, *Vitringa* l. c. p. 260; *Frank* syst. chronol. i. 1, § 8; *Ideler*, Chronologie i., p. 490 sqq.

correct view; for it is the view which we find in the book of Daniel itself. The vision in chap. viii. is represented in ver. 26, as shut up till a far distant time. According to ver. 27, Daniel himself was astonished, and no one comprehended it. In chap. xii. 4, the whole of the previous prophecy is said to be shut up, until the time of the end, when many will run through it, and great will be the knowledge of its meaning. In chap. xii. 7, the angel fixes the time. Daniel hears, but does not understand; he therefore asks the angel for a further explanation (ver. 8). The angel replies (ver. 9) that he cannot give it, because the prophecy is shut up and sealed, until the last time (see the *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 175). With special reference to the passage last quoted, Peter says (1 Pet. i. 10—12), "the prophets enquired and searched diligently" as to the future salvation. It was revealed to them, however, that the prophecy ministered by them, was not for themselves, but for those who should be living at the time of its fulfilment. Daniel did not want to know *when* he was to begin to reckon; it was enough for him to be able to gather from the prophecy itself that he was not to begin to reckon yet, because the time had not yet come. A more exact calculation was reserved for the men of a later age and even for them, there was so much obscurity previous to the fulfilment,—first, on account of the method, in which the point of commencement itself was determined (a method which evidently aimed, in this as in every other prophecy, at avoiding the two extremes, of objective uncertainty on the one hand, and such distinctness on the other, for those who lived before the fulfilment, as would do away with the difference between prophecy and history), and secondly, from the want of any careful chronological investigation of the whole period, which is so apparent in the case of *Josephus*—that it was impossible to do anything more than obtain from prophecy an approximation to the time when Christ would appear. At the same time, it may be proved from history that it did answer this end, so far as the more thoughtful were concerned. Subjective certainty, corresponding to the objective, was reserved till the prophecy had been fulfilled. It is not true, however, that, if we suppose this to have been the point of commencement, the prediction can have afforded no consolation to Daniel. Was not the fact itself a rich source of

consolation? Moreover, Daniel was not left in utter uncertainty as to the time. The period of the return from captivity was accurately known to him. He knew that this would take place in two years more. Cyrus, who was to effect it, had already appeared upon the stage, and, from the very nature of the case, it seemed impossible that the return could be separated by a very long interval from the complete restoration of the city. Moreover, the announcement may have been all the more consolatory to Daniel, from the very fact, that he thought the two would be much more nearly connected, than they really were. That he actually did think so, may perhaps be inferred from the deep sorrow, to which he gives utterance in chap. x., when an unexpected obstacle presents itself to the resumption of the theocracy, in the third year of Cyrus (see *Beiträge* i. 146 sqq.). A more precise statement, as to the length of time that would intervene between the point at which Jeremiah's prophecies would terminate, and that at which the fulfilment of the present announcement was to commence, would only have tended to dispirit those who were about to return, if not to deter them from returning altogether; a step which, even apart from this, comparatively few resolved to take.

2. It is argued that "the blessing desired and promised was proportioned to the calamity endured. The Chaldeans had destroyed, at the same time, both the temple and the city. Both temple and city were still lying in ruins, at the time when Daniel prayed. And therefore, as Jeremiah's prediction of the desolation of the city involved that of the temple as well (Jer. xxi. 10, &c.), so is the latter included in Daniel's description of the desolation and re-building, though the city alone is mentioned. Hence Daniel embraces the whole in his prayers, people and sanctuary, city and sacred hill. And the answer, brought by the angel, equally embraces them all" (*Bengel, ordo tempor.* p. 343). But this proves nothing more than that the message from God must have referred to the temple, as well as the city. Indirectly, this certainly is the case; inasmuch as, at the commencement of the seventy weeks, or of the restoration of the city, it is taken for granted that the temple is already finished. For how could the city be called the holy city, apart from the temple? Moreover, the announcement of the destruction of the temple, at

the end of the seventy weeks, presupposes its restoration. to maintain that the re-building of the temple must necessa have taken place at the same time as that of the city, is maintain that the history must have been different from wha really was. If the two events were actually separated from e other, why should not one of them be selected in the prophec the point from which to reckon? And why should it not be one, from which if we begin to reckon, we find the seventy we of years terminate precisely at the point intended.

3. *Wieseler's* objection is this (p. 80), "The starting poin said to be eighty years from the time when Daniel received prophecy. But who could have blamed Daniel, if he had tak as the basis of his calculation of the seventy weeks, a proph with which he was well acquainted, and the import of wh was the same as that of his own, I mean Jeremiah's prophecy the year 606? Why was it not at least pointed out to him, t the דבר, from which he was to begin his reckoning, was so thing belonging to the future, and not to the past?" T impossibility of its referring to Jeremiah's prophecy, we h already shown in our remarks on ver. 25. That the poin commencement was in the future, was a fact about which Da could have had no doubt. It was to be seen in the exist condition of Jerusalem, which was still in ruins, and there far removed from complete restoration. We have already sho that the divine command coincided exactly with its fulfilmen man, in other words, with the commencement of the per restoration, and that the issue of such a command could only known from its execution.

4. *Wieseler* says again, "what right have we to fix upon edict of Artaxerxes, in the twentieth year of his reign, as consequence of this divine decree? God had already cau similar edicts to be issued before; *e.g.* that of Darius H taspes (Ezra vi. 12), and that of Artaxerxes himself in seventh year of his reign (Ezra vii. 8)." But the edict of Da simply related to the building of the temple, and had nothing do with the city. The edict of Artaxerxes informed Ezra priest of the conditions, on which he was to enter upon his wo as a reformer of religious worship.

5. *Hofmann* objects that, "it appears very strange that

seventy weeks of years should have no chronological connection with the seventy years of Jeremiah, seeing that any one, who read the passage along with the context, would at once imagine that the seventy weeks, at the end of which Daniel was led by Jeremiah's prophecy to expect the final restoration and the glory of Jerusalem, were replaced by, and expanded in the seventy weeks of years." Jeremiah predicts that, at the end of seventy years, the Chaldean captivity will come to an end, and the people will return. The complete restoration and glory of Jerusalem, Jeremiah does *not* assign to the same point of time. Whether they belonged to the same, or to a later period, had not been revealed to Daniel. But even if the seventy weeks of years did not follow immediately upon the seventy years, they were nevertheless essentially connected with them; they were a rich compensation, provided by the mercy of God, for the sufferings of seventy years. But no one, who would avoid the most forced and untenable assumptions, can possibly bring the seventy weeks of years into direct chronological connexion with the seventy years of Jeremiah.

6. *Hofmann* says again, "the rebuilding of Jerusalem as a whole, cannot possibly be assigned to this period." But we have already shown, that the term *building* is more closely defined by the *restoration* mentioned before. And, even apart from this, the rebuilding of Jerusalem was really the work of Nehemiah. All that had been done before his time hardly deserved the name. According to Neh. ii. 5, Nehemiah says to the king of the Persians: "send me unto Judah, unto the city of my fathers' sepulchres, *that I may build it.*" "There were no houses built," it is stated in Neh. vii. 4. *Build* is the watch-word, throughout the whole of the book of Nehemiah. There is no other book in the Bible, in which the word occurs with the same relative frequency. According to Ezra iv. 12, previous to the arrival of Nehemiah, the Samaritans accused the Jews to Artaxerxes of *building* Jerusalem and setting up the walls, and restoring its foundations. But as the attempt was merely an *experiment*, and was prohibited at the outset; at the time when the book of Ezra was composed, Jerusalem was still not *built*. For, in the whole of the book, there is no account of any revocation of the edict in which the Jews were forbidden to build.

"*If* this city be built, and the walls thereof restored," is what the enemies of the Jews say (chap. iv. 13, 16). The city, therefore had *not* been built up to that time. *If* it be built, the accusers maintain, the most disastrous consequences will ensue. The antithesis to the building in ver. 15 is the state of desolation, in which the city had lain up to the time of Artaxerxes. "The city is not to be built," says the edict of Artaxerxes, "until commandment shall be given from me" (chap. iv. 21); and on the strength of this edict, the enemies prevented the Jews, by main force, from attempting to build. "Until commandment shall be given from me;"—the words stood like a brazen wall in the way of any building, until the mission of Nehemiah ensued, which was founded solely and exclusively upon the personal relation in which, by the providence of God, Nehemiah stood to the Persian monarch. "The Lord doth *build* up Jerusalem" is the joyful exclamation of the congregation in ver. 2 of the 147th Psalm, which was composed under Nehemiah. *The Nehemiah is always referred to in the Scriptures, as the so builder of the city.* If the building of the city is attributed to Kores in Is. xliv. 28 and xlv. 13, this may be explained from the fact that the *central point* of the city, the temple, was to be erected by him, and this, of course, could not be accomplished without houses being built as well. This was the interpretation given to the prophecy by Cyrus himself. He says, in Ezra i. 2, "he hath commanded me to build him a house in Jerusalem." Of the restoration of the city, as a city, there is not a single word in the edict of Cyrus.

With this enquiry as to the point of commencement, we now connect an examination of the historical confirmation of the account, here given, of the peculiar characteristics of the first period, that is, the first seven weeks, dating from that point. The restoration of the city is said to occupy the whole seven weeks, and to be completed when they close. Now, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes' reign, as we shall prove by and by, was the year 455 B.C.; and therefore the seven weeks must have expired in the year 406, two years before the close of the nineteen years' reign of Darius II., the successor of Artaxerxes. So far as this particular point is concerned, but very modest claims can be put forth to a demonstration of the agreement between prophecy and

its fulfilment; partly from the nature of the period itself, which is not detached, and sharply defined; and partly from the fact, that Josephus passes over this period altogether, and our historical information, therefore, is as good as none at all. But, notwithstanding this, we are almost in a condition to outbid these *modest* claims.

The most remarkable testimony is given by Herodotus, whose history cannot have been written before the year 408, since he records events, which occurred in this and the previous year (*cf. Clinton*, fasti Hellenici p. 85, but especially *Dahlmann*, Forschungen i. 95 sqq.), and cannot have been written much later, for this would make the historian himself too old. Hence, his remarks as to the size of Jerusalem may be regarded, as pretty nearly descriptive of what it was at the end of the seven weeks. We must claim permission, it is true, to make one assumption, namely, that the *Kadytis* of Herodotus is Jerusalem; but we may do this without hesitation. It is a thing which speaks for itself. The arguments already adduced in support of this assumption,—for example, by *Lightfoot* (opp. t. ii. p. 408), *Prideaux* (i. p. 106 sqq. French ed.), *Cellarius* (3.13, ed. *Schwarz* 2. p. 456), *Heine* (observv. sacrae l. 1. c. 5. p. 63), the acute editor of the *observatio de Cadyti, magna Syriae urbe* (in the nova var. script. coll. fasc. 1. Halle 1716), *Zorn* (on Hecateus Abder. p. 94), and *Dahlmann* (Forschungen 2 p. 75), —are not shaken in the least by *Hitzig's* treatise; and, since this treatise was written, *Niebuhr* (in the first volume of the *hist. phil. Schriften, Abhandlung über die Armen. Chronik des Eusebius*), *Bähr* and *Stein* (in their editions of Herodotus) have joined the ranks of its defenders. *Herodotus* refers to Kadytis in two passages. The former of the two (2. 159, "after the battle he took Kadytis, which is a large city of Syria") relates, it is true, to the times anterior to the captivity; namely, to the taking of Jerusalem by Pharaoh Necho, after Josiah had been slain in the battle at Megiddo. But *Herodotus* speaks of Jerusalem in this passage, as being still a large city, even in his own day. Of greater importance, however, is the second passage 3. 5: *ἀπο γὰρ Φοινίκης μέχρι οὔρων τῶν Καδύτιος πόλιος, ἥ ἐστι Σύρων τῶν Παλαιστινῶν καλεομένων· ἀπὸ δὲ Καδύτιος, ἐούσης πόλιος (ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέει) Σαρδίων οὐ πολλῷ ἐλάσσονος κ. τ. λ.* It is evident from

the comparison, drawn between Kadytis and Sardes in this passage, that the predicate "large," in the former one, is to be taken in its fullest sense. This city of the earliest antiquity was as large, and as populous, under the Persian dominion, and even later, as it had formerly been, when it was the capital of the kings of Lydia. This is apparent from *Pausanias* (Lacon. p. 175 ed. Wech.) and other authorities. *Pausanias* says: "ἦν γὰρ δὴ τῆς Ἀσίας τῆς κάτω μέγιστον μέρος τηνικαῦτα ἡ Λυδία, καὶ αἱ Σάρδεις πλούτῳ τε καὶ παρασκευῇ προεῖχον· τῷ τε σατραπεύοντι ἐπὶ θαλάσσῃ τοῦτο οἰκητήριον ἀπεδέδεικτο, καθάπερ γε αὐτῷ βασιλεῖ τὰ Σοῦσα." *Pliny* describes this city, as the ornament of all Lydia ("*celebratur maxime Sardibus*," h. n. 5. 29); *Strabo* speaks of it, as very ancient and large; and the latter predicate is applied to it so constantly, that it appears to have been a standing epithet (compare *Ovid*, Metam. xi. 137, *Vade, ait, ad magnis vicinum Sardibus amnem*).

Another remarkable testimony is that of *Hecataeus Abderita*, a writer of the time of Alexander and Ptolemy Lagus. (For further information respecting him see the *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 228). It belongs indeed to a later age, but it is not less remarkable on that account. It is contained in a fragment quoted by *Josephus* (contra Apion Book i. § 22), and *Eusebius* (praep. Evang. l. ix. c. 4): ἔστι γὰρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων τὰ μὲν πολλὰ ὀχυρώματα κατὰ τὴν χώραν καὶ κῶμαι· μία δὲ πόλις ὀχυρὰ, πεντήκοντα μάλιστα σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον· ἣν οἰκοῦσι μὲν ἀνθρώπων περὶ δώδεκα μυριάδες, καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἱεροσόλυμα, on which *Scaliger* observes, "you see, how large a city Jerusalem must have been, when it could truly be called the ornament of the East in the time of Hecataeus."

It is mentioned in the prophecy, as a peculiar characteristic of the rebuilding to take place in the seven weeks, that it would occur in troublous times. This is also in perfect keeping with the actual circumstances. We cannot sufficiently wonder, how the hidden blessing of God was able to work so powerfully in the midst of crosses, that, in a comparatively brief space of time, there rose up, in the place of a desolate heap of rubbish, a city of such magnitude, that there were few in Asia to surpass it. We may see from Nehemiah (chap. iv.), how thoroughly applicable to this period the epithet "troublous times" really was.

The builders, hard pressed by the enemies round about, were obliged to carry their weapons in one hand, and work with the other; and during the night their powers, which had been exhausted by the labours of the day, were again called into requisition, for the duties of the watch. And, even when the building was finished, their misery and anxieties were not at an end. This is apparent from the graphic account given in Neh. ix. 36, 37: "behold we are servants this day, and for the land, that thou gavest unto our fathers, to eat the fruit thereof, and the good thereof, behold we are servants in it. And it yieldeth its increase for the kings, whom thou hast set over us because of our sins; also they have dominion over our bodies, and over our cattle, at their pleasure, and we are *in great distress.*" Of this, the prophecies of Malachi, which were written in the midst of the same period, also contain an evident proof. He is constantly reproving those, who murmured against God on account of the oppressed condition of the new colony, and who even suffered themselves to be led away thereby to total unbelief.

We append the additional observation here, that the position, assigned to the Book of Daniel in the Canon, appears to rest upon the connexion, which exists between the prophecy before us, and the history recorded in the Book of Nehemiah. In the arrangement in the Canon, plan and intention are conspicuous everywhere, even in the most minute particulars. The collection of the *Nebiim*, especially, is most carefully arranged. Hence, we should expect, at the very outset, to find the same evidence of a well considered plan in the third collection. It contains such of the sacred books, as were neither composed by Moses, nor by the prophets in their prophetic capacity. (The idea of the *Nabi* included not only the prophetic gift, but the prophetic office also, which Daniel did not fill). The Psalms of David, and others that were added to them, form the commencement. Then follow the three books from the age of Solomon; the first and third places being assigned to those, of which Solomon is expressly named in the heading as the author, and Job being placed in the middle. As an appendix to the writings of David and Solomon, we find the Book of Ruth, which is occupied with

the *origines* of the royal family of David. Then follow the Lamentations of Jeremiah, which belong to the period of the desolation. Next to these comes Ecclesiastes, composed in the days of the new colony, by a contemporary of Malachi. In the position assigned to this book, we have the testimony of the compilers, that Solomon was not the author. Next come the Books which are occupied with both *history* and *prophecy*, relating to the state of things after the captivity; first of all the Book of Esther, which is occupied with events, that occurred in the reign of Xerxes;—then Daniel, on account of his predicting in chap. ix. the restoration of the city under Artaxerxes, a prophecy, which would have the greater prominence in the estimation of the compilers of the Canon, from the fact that they were eye-witnesses of the fulfilment;—then Ezra and Nehemiah, who give a historical account of the mercy, shown by God to his people in the reign of Artaxerxes (strictly speaking, Daniel ought to have been placed *between* Ezra and Nehemiah, but it was thought unadvisable to obscure the connection, which exists between these two books, by a local separation);—lastly, the Chronicles, the closing book of the Canon, *Paraleipomena*. The fact that this latest work is placed last in the Canon, is a proof, that the other books do not owe their position to mere accident. The arrangement of the subject matter is closely connected with the chronological order. This may be seen in the position assigned to the Books of Ruth and Daniel. It is also apparent from the fact, that Ecclesiastes stands before Esther. With the exception of the Book of Ruth, which forms a kind of parenthesis, we have none but poetical books from the Psalms to the Preacher. The Preacher could not properly be separated from the other kindred writings. The author has been led into this investigation by a remark made by *Auberlen* in his "der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis," p. 131.

TERMINATION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

The extreme point to which this prophecy extends, namely, the period, which was to commence with the complete forgive-

ıess of sins, the bringing in of eternal righteousness, &c., falls precisely at the close of the seventy weeks. But it is a mistake, to make this the basis of chronological calculations; for the simple reason, that it is not marked by any distinct and clearly defined event. Such an event, however, we do find at the end of the sixty-ninth week, namely, Christ's public appearance, and his anointing with the gifts of the Spirit; and we are the more inclined to take this as the basis of our calculation, just because of the very remarkable fact, that the chronological data, connected with this event, are as carefully recorded in the history of the fulfilment, as they are here in the prophecy itself, and more carefully than in the case of his birth, his resurrection, his ascension, or any other event connected with his life.

We read in Luke iii. 1, "in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberias Cæsar, Pontius Pilate being governor of Judaea, . . . the word of God came unto John." According to this, the public appearance of John the Baptist and of Christ occurred in the year of Rome 782. Attempts have, indeed, been made,—partly, for the purpose of upholding the authority of several of the church-fathers, whose notices differ from the statement given here, and partly, to shake the solid historical foundation of the sacred narrative,—to rob this account of its credibility. But they have not been successful. For whilst *Paulus* and *Kühnöl*, for example, affirm that it is uncertain, which mode of reckoning has been adopted in this statement, as to the year of the reign of Tiberias; *Ideler* (Chronologie i. p. 418), and *Wieseler* (chron. Syn. p. 172), have proved that the reckoning, adopted in history, invariably dates from the death of Augustus, when his actual government commenced. And when the two former critics argue that Luke merely mentions the year, in which John made his first public appearance, and not that in which Christ appeared; they overlook the fact, that this precise announcement of the time of John's appearance, followed, as it immediately is, by the appearance of Christ, without any fresh allusion to chronology, is in itself a proof that they both occurred in the same year.[1] We are also

[1] *Bengel* has very forcibly observed:—"Certainly it was not the object of Luke to mark exactly the entrance of the Forerunner, and to touch only incidentally upon the beginning that was made by our Lord Himself, but what he chiefly cared for recording was the latter. However the joining of John

led to conclude that both John and Christ made their public appearance in the same year, from the expression in Luke (ver. 23): καὶ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριάκοντα ἀρχόμενος. If we render this "Jesus also himself," it follows that when John entered upon his office he also was (ἀρχόμενος) about thirty years old, and, consequently, that as John was only six months older than Christ, he entered upon his public ministry just six months before him. If we adopt the rendering "and Jesus himself," the words would then imply that the historical data, connected with the account of John's appearance, were equally applicable to that of Christ, and that the only new matter, to be introduced here, was the notice of Christ's age. This notice again equally applies to John, seeing that it was not an accidental circumstance, that Christ first appeared at the end of his thirtieth year, but a compliance with the legal injunctions of the Old Testament. There is no force in the objection offered to the conclusion to which we have come, namely, that the year of Christ's appearance coincided with that of John's, on the ground of ver. 21, when taken in connection with Matt. iii. 5. For, even if Judea had been ten times as large as it really was, at such a time as this, when all minds were raised to the highest pitch of expectation, and religious intercourse was so constant and lively, through the medium of the capital, half-a-year would amply suffice to attract the attention of the whole land.

HARMONY BETWEEN THE PROPHECY AND ITS FULFILMENT WITH REGARD TO THE INTERVAL BETWEEN THE COMMENCEMENT AND TERMINATION OF THE SEVENTY WEEKS.

According to the prophecy, the point of commencement, namely the twentieth year of Artaxerxes, was removed from the closing event, viz., the public appearance of Christ, by a period of 69 weeks of years, or 483 years. Now, if we turn to history,

with Him is appropriate and seasonable, that he may not be supposed to have preceded Jesus by a longer interval." (English translation, vol. ii. p. 45.)

it must strike the most prejudiced mind as a very remarkable fact, that, *of all the current chronological calculations, in relation to this period of time, there is not a single one, whose results differ more than ten years from the statements of the prophecy.* But, on a closer examination of these calculations, we find that the one, which has the greatest probabilities in its favour, fully establishes the agreement of prophecy and history, even to a single year.

In order to arrive at this result, there is no necessity to thread our way through a labyrinth of chronological researches. Chronological authorities are all agreed in this, that Xerxes began to reign in the year 485 B.C., and that the death of Artaxerxes occurred in the year 423. The only point in which they differ has respect to the commencement of Artaxerxes' reign. Our task, therefore, will be accomplished, if we can prove that he began to reign in the year 474 B.C. For, in this case, the twentieth year of Artaxerxes would be the year 455 B.C. according to the ordinary reckoning, or 299 from the foundation of Rome. Add to this 483 years, and we are brought to the year 782 U.C.

We should probably have been spared the trouble of this enquiry altogether, had not the error of an acute writer, and the want of independence on the part of those who succeeded him, involved the question in obscurity. According to *Thucydides*, Artaxerxes began to reign a short time before the flight of Themistocles into Asia. *Dodwell* was led astray by certain specious arguments, and set down the year 465 B.C. as the date of both these events (Annall. Thuc.). The thorough refutation of these arguments by *Vitringa* was, strange to say, entirely overlooked by both linguists and historians, and apparently even by such writers as *Wesseling* and others, of Holland itself. The view expressed by *Dodwell* was adopted by *Corsini* in his *Fastis Atticis*, and currently received. Even *Clinton* (fasti Hellenici at. vert. *Krüger* Leipz. 1830), strongly as he expresses his conviction, that *Dodwell* has thrown the whole chronology of this period into confusion (compare *e.g.* p. 248, 53), could not shake off his influence in the most important points; although in several particulars he has successfully opposed him. Hence, he has only increased the confusion; for he has neither given us the

actual chronology, nor left us the events in the chronological order, in which they were so skilfully arranged by *Dodwell*. The credit of having once more discovered the right road is due to *Krüger*, who, after an interval of more than a hundred years, by an entirely independent enquiry, arrived at the same result as *Vitringa*, and to a great extent adopted the very same line of argument. In his admirable article, über den Cimonischen Frieden (in the Archiv. für Philologie und Pädagogik von Seebode i. 2 p. 205 sqq., with which his hist. philol. Studien Berlin 36 should be compared), he places the death of Xerxes in the year 474 or 473, and the flight of Themistocles a year later.

Let us, first of all, examine the arguments which appear to favour the conclusion that the reign of Artaxerxes commenced in the year 465. (1.) "The flight of Themistocles must have taken place several years after the supremacy in Greece had passed from the hands of Athens to those of Sparta; for the transfer was made at the siege of Byzantium, where the treacherous proceedings of Pausanias first commenced. The flight of Themistocles was occasioned by the charge brought against him, in consequence of some papers that were discovered after the death of Pausanias. Now Isocrates says, in the Panathenaikos, that the supremacy of the Lacedaemonians lasted ten years. And dating from the time of Xerxes' expedition, the transfer must have taken place in the year 470." We may spare ourselves the trouble, which *Vitringa* has taken, to invalidate this supposed testimony of Isocrates; for all modern scholars, and to some extent independently, have come to the conclusion, that Isocrates is speaking of a ten years' supremacy, not previous to, but after that of the Athenians (see *Coray* zu Pan. c. 19; *Dahlmann*, Forschungen i., p. 45; *Krüger* Abhandl. p. 221; *Clinton* p. 250 sqq.; *Kleinert* Dorp. Beiträge ii., p. 136).—(2.) From *Aelian* l. 9, c. 5, *Corsini* concludes that Themistocles was still in Athens in the year 472 (fasti. Att. iii. p. 180). It is stated there, that Themistocles thrust back Hiero, when he came to the Olympian games, on the ground that no one, who had failed to share in the greatest danger, had any right to participate in the pleasure (the tale is also told by Plutarch). Now, as Hiero began to reign in the third year of

the 75th Olympiad (478), the only Olympiad that can possibly be thought of is the 77th (472)." This is *Corsini's* argument; but it is much more probable that the Olympian games of the 76th (476) are referred to here, seeing that such an occurrence presupposes, that the memory of the μέγιστος τῶν κινδύνων was still fresh in the minds of the people.—(3.) "According to this, Xerxes can only have reigned eleven years; and Artaxerxes, on the other hand, fifty-one. But such a supposition is at variance with the account, given in the Can. Ptolem. (see *Ideler* Chronol. i, p. 109 sqq.), where Xerxes is said to have reigned twenty-one years, and Artaxerxes forty-one; it is also opposed to the statement of *Ctesias*, who assigns to Artaxerxes forty-two years, as well as to the testimony of certain other authors, quoted by *Bähr* (zu *Ctesias*, p. 184), and, at excessive and unprofitable length, by *Kleinert* (über den Regierungs-antritt des Artaxerxes Dorpat Beiträge zu den theologischen Wissenschaften vol. ii., Hamb. 33)." *Ceteris paribus*, this argument would certainly be decisive. But, as it is opposed by other weighty authorities, it is not sufficient in itself to outweigh them all. The accounts handed down from antiquity vary, as to the length of Xerxes' reign; and a long list of the different opinions may be found in *Kleinert*, p. 100. This fact alone weakens the importance of the particular statement referred to. As far as *Ctesias* himself is concerned, we are ready at once to assent to what *Hofmann* says of him (p. 92), namely, that no one is likely to be able "to give a better account of the length of Artaxerxes' reign, than the physician of Artaxerxes' *Mnemon*." But if we look more closely at the historical character of *Ctesias*, or if we merely bear in mind, what *Kleinert* has shown (p. 19), that "the statements made by *Ctesias*, as to the reigns of the Persian kings, are *as a rule* false," and that he assigns thirty-five years to the immediate predecessor of Artaxerxes Mnemon, which is quite at variance with the accredited history; our confidence in him will be considerably shaken. The canon, again, has not much weight, except where it is based upon astronomical observations, to which there is no allusion here. Apart from these, it takes its place with all the other historical sources.[1] The whole error was com-

[1] Even the astronomical data of Ptolemaeus cannot be relied upon without reserve. *Biot* the astronomer says, that, after examining his catalogue of

mitted, when a single ιά had been mistaken for κά in one of the earlier documents.[1] For when once the reign of Xerxes had been set down at twenty-one years in consequence of this mistake, the reign of Artaxerxes would be shortened to forty-one as a necessary consequence. *Wesseling* (on Diod. xii. 64), did not hesitate to throw these notices aside, and set down the reign of Artaxerxes at forty-five years.—(4.) "From what *Ctesias* says (chap. xx.), it appears that Artaxerxes was not born till some time after Xerxes began to reign. For, after relating that Xerxes had ascended the throne, he proceeds to observe: γαμεῖ δὲ Ξέρξης Ὀνόφα θυγατέρα Ἀμιστριν καὶ γίνεται αὐτῷ παῖς Δαρειαῖος, καὶ ἕτερος μετὰ δύο ἔτη Ὑστάσπης, καὶ ἔτι Ἀρταξέρξης. If *Ctesias* has given these events in their true chronological order, Artaxerxes cannot possibly have been more than seven years old in the year 474." But all the accounts, which have come down to us, agree in this, that although he was young when Xerxes died (see Justin. iii. 1), he was old enough to govern by himself. We must not content ourselves with the answer, that it is not at all likely that Xerxes, who was born in the early part of the 36th year of the reign of Darius (see Herodotus vii. 2), and therefore was thirty-four or thirty-five years old when Darius died, should have remained unmarried till so advanced a period of life. *Ctesias* himself helps us out of the difficulty, into which he plunges us by his want of accuracy. According to chap. xxii., Megabyzus married a daughter of Xerxes previous to the invasion of Greece; and yet, *if the chronology of Ctesias in chap.* xx. *is correct*, this daughter, who is there mentioned, had only just been born. And according to chap. xxviii., Megabyzus complained to Xerxes, immediately after his return from Greece, of the disreputable conduct of this wife of his.—(5.) "There can be no question whatever, that the

stars, he has lost all that still remained of his high esteem for this author (see *Seyffarth* Berichtigungen der Geschichte, und Zeitrechung Leipz. 55, p. 64). *Zech* (astronomische Untersuchungen Leipz. 51), found the notices of eclipses in Ptolemaeus incorrect in many respects; compare *Seyffarth* (p. 84 sqq.), who also expresses a very unfavourable opinion as to his historical canon.

[1] The objections brought by *Kleinert*, p. 109 sqq., against this supposition, are founded upon a misapprehension of our meaning. He argues as if we supposed the error to have been committed by one single copyist of the canon; whereas we attribute it to the original editor himself, whose work was compiled from the monographs of different individuals.

Achashverosh of the Book of Esther is Xerxes himself. But the twelfth year of this king is expressly mentioned in chap. iii. 7 of that book; and some of the events recorded afterwards happened towards the end of that same year." The difficulty vanishes, however, if we include the years, during which Xerxes shared the government with Darius. According to *Herodotus* (7, chap. ii.—iv.), Xerxes was made king by Darius, two years before the death of the latter; *vid.*, *e.g.*, chap. iv., *ἀπέδεξε δὲ βασιλῆα Πέρσῃσι Δαρεῖος Ξέρξεα.*[1]

We have an example, in the accounts relating to Nebuchadnezzar, of the manner in which the Hebrew writers were accustomed to reckon years of joint sovereignty, wherever such an arrangement took place (see *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 51, and *Hitzig* on Jer. xxv. 1). And in the Book of Esther itself we find traces, by no means obscure, of this mode of reckoning. It is only on this assumption, that it appears possible to place the account of the enormous banquet in chap. i. in its proper light. The occasion appears to have been the actual entrance of Xerxes upon the government; though we need not, therefore, lose sight of what has hitherto been regarded as the exclusive object, namely, the desire to consult with the leading men, as to the expeditions which he was about to undertake. In this case, the presentation of Esther (ii. 16) would belong to the period of Xerxes' return from Greece; whereas, otherwise, about two years must have

[1] According to *Kleinert*, p. 121, we are not to understand these words, as meaning that he shared the throne; but merely, that he was appointed successor. However, the words themselves show, that this is not correct. *Ἀποδέξαι βασιλέα*, says *Schweighäuser* in his Lexicon to Herodotus, *est nominare, constituere, creare regem*; and he adduces examples to substantiate this meaning. The fact that *Herodotus* says in chap. iv., *ἀποθανόντος δὲ Δαρείου ἡ βασιληίη ἀνεχώρησε ἐς τὸν παῖδα τὸν ἐκείνου Ξέρξεα*, is no proof that Xerxes had not shared the government during the life time of his father. On the contrary, the exact meaning and limitations of this passage are determined by the expression *ἀπέδεξε μιν βασιλέα*, which is repeated three times before. Thucydides (i. 9) relates a perfectly analogous occurrence. When Eurystheus marched against the Heraclidae, he entrusted the government of Mycenae to Atreus, his mother's brother, for the period of the war. But, as Eurystheus did not return, Atreus took possession of the government over Mycenae, and the other provinces belonging to Eurystheus. And among the Persians themselves, Artaxerxes Mnemon appointed his son joint-sovereign, in just the same manner, and even *without* any such external inducement. *Justinus* (B. 10, C. 1) says, "Per indulgentiam pater regem vivus fecit, nihil sibi ablatum existimans, quod in filium contulisset sinceriusque gaudium ex procreatione capturus, si insignia majestatis suae vivus in filio conspexisset."

intervened—a supposition that is not free from difficulty.[1] *Kleinert's* assertion, that from the statement made in chap. x. 2-3, it necessarily follows, that the greatness of Mordecai lasted for several years, cannot be admitted to be well-founded. The main thing was the simple fact, that Mordecai the Jew attained to the highest dignity in this universal empire.—(6.) *Kleinert* (p. 215) is of opinion, that *Diodorus* (xi. 71) connects the revolt of the Egyptians under Inarus with the death of Xerxes and the ascent of the throne by his successor; whereas, if Artaxerxes began to reign in 474, there must have been an interval of thirteen or fourteen years, between his accession and the revolt of Inarus. But, as the earlier writers, even where they enter fully into the particulars of the history of Inarus (for example *Herodotus*, *Thucydides*, and *Ctesias*), are all silent on this point, and give no intimation that the revolution of Inarus belonged to the opening period of Artaxerxes' reign, the notice in Diodorus can have but little weight; especially as he is so far from mentioning any particular year, that he does not even expressly state, that the revolt of Inarus belonged to the period referred to.

We pass on now to the positive proofs which may be adduced of the correctness of our view. And in doing so, we shall point out, first of all, those which establish it directly; and secondly, those which do so indirectly, by showing that the flight of Themistocles, which must have taken place before Artaxerxes ascended the throne, cannot possibly have occurred later than 473 B.C. The latter are much the stronger and more numerous of the two.

The former class includes the following[2]:—

1. The fact, that the whole period from the eleventh year of Xerxes' reign is a perfect blank, must be inexplicable to those, who imagine that he reigned for twenty-one years. The biblical accounts do not reach beyond the close of the tenth year.

[1] If the reason of the delay was merely the absence of the king, the marriage would be sure to take place as soon as this obstacle was removed.

[2] The most direct testimony of all is found in a *Chronicon*, copied into *Scaliger's* thes. temp. "Post Darium regnavit Xerxes Persus annos xi." But although this *Chronicon* is by no means destitute of worth (see *Kleinert* p. 53), it is not of sufficient importance, to enable us to cite it as a positive argument. It is a matter of greater consequence, that in all probability *Ctesias* assigns to the reign of Xerxes a period of "at the most ten years and a little over." The evidence is given by *Kleinert* p. 19 seq.

Ctesias only mentions one trifling incident connected with the times subsequent to the Grecian war (chap. xxviii.), namely, an occurrence which took place immediately after the close of the war. *Herodotus* notices another (Book vii. chap. 107), which belongs to the period directly succeeding the capture of Ion, and which is assigned by *Hermann* to the year 476 (Lehrb. des Griech. Alterthümer, 4 Ausg. § 36). Of course, we have only to do with such things as are expressly attributed to Xerxes by ancient authors, and not with those, which are set down to the latter portion of his reign, according to the more modern collocations.

2. The statements of *Justin* (iii. 1), as to the age of Xerxes' sons at the time of his death, are irreconcileable with a twenty-one years' reign. He says "Securior de Artaxerxe, puero admodum, fingit regem a Dario, qui erat *adolescens*, quo maturius regno potiretur, occisum." If Xerxes reigned twenty-one years, as *Ctesias* (chap. xxii.) affirms, his first-born son Darius cannot have been an *adolescens* when he died, but must have been at least thirty-one years old.[1] On the other hand, assuming that he reigned only eleven years, these terms are perfectly applicable. Darius would in that case be about twenty-one years old. Next to him came Hystaspes, who was two years younger (*Ctesias* chap. xx.), and after him Artaxerxes, who might therefore be about fifteen or seventeen years old. And this shows, too, that the supposition of his having reigned fifty-one years cannot be objected to, on the ground that it would make him too old; an objection, by the by, which may easily be set aside by the simple remark, that the length of his life would be exactly the same, whether he reigned fifty-one, or forty-one years. If he ascended

[1] *Kleinert* brings forward the authority of *Scheller*, who says that an *adolescens* was "a young man of from ten to thirty years old or more." But *Scheller* is a bad guide in anything that must be understood *cum grano salis*. The real meaning of *adolescens* is that given by *Forcellini*: "homo qui pueritiam excessit, et nondum ad juventutem pervenit; ita dictus, quod eo maxime tempore crescat." It is just our word youth (Jüngling), which may be applied jocularly or hyperbolically (like the word child itself), under certain circumstances, to a man of thirty and even to one of sixty. When *Cicero* the orator says of Alexander the great, that he died an *adolescens*, it is quite a mistake to make use of this passage, in determining the meaning of the word when employed in unvarnished history. Moreover, the expression *puero admodum* appears to indicate, that even Darius had not long laid aside his child's shoes.

the throne at seventeen, he lived till he was sixty-eight years old.

3. According to the preponderance of authority, numerical and otherwise, the problematical peace of Cimon was concluded after the battle of the Eurymedon (B.C. 470). And as there is perfect unanimity, as to its being with Artaxerxes that it was concluded, he must have ascended the throne before 470. For a fuller development of this argument, we must refer to *Krüger*.

Before proceeding to the indirect proofs, we must make one observation in defence of the relation, in which we place the commencement of the reign of Artaxerxes to the flight of Themistocles. This connexion is sustained by the unanimous testimony of ancient historians. As guarantees of its correctness, we adduce *Thucydides*, chap. cxxxvii., where he says of Themistocles, who had arrived in Asia, *ἐσπέμπει γράμματα ἐς βασιλέα Ἀρταξέρξην τὸν Ξέρξου, νεωστὶ βασιλεύοντα*,[1] and *Charon of Lampsacus*, who, according to *Plutarch*, chap. xxvii., also speaks of Thucydides as flying to Artaxerxes. On the other hand, there are some, for example, *Ephorus*, *Dinon*, *Klitarch*, and *Heraclides* (see *Plutarch l.c.)*, who represent him as coming to Xerxes. If we test these statements by the weight of authority, possessed by the various witnesses, the decision cannot but be unconditionally in favour of the accounts given by *Thucydides* and *Charon*. *Thucydides* was a contemporary of Artaxerxes, and was born about the time when Themistocles fled. In chap. xcvii., this prince of Grecian historians says that the reason, why he recorded the events between the Median and Peloponnesian wars, was that all his predecessors had passed them over in silence, and that *Hellanicus*, the only one, who touched upon them, had described them *βραχέως τε καὶ τοῖς χρόνοις οὐκ ἀκριβῶς*; and from this, two things may be inferred: *first*, how little confidence can be placed in the accounts of this period, which have been given by later writers, seeing that they cannot have been derived from any contemporaneous authority, for *Thucydides* must have been acquainted with it, if any such had existed; and, *secondly*, that Thucydides himself wishes to be regarded as a careful and accurate historian,

[1] The letter of Themistocles cited there is also addressed to Artaxerxes. *Θεμιστοκλῆς ἥκω παρά σε, ὃς κακὰ μὲν πλεῖστά Ἑλλήνων ἔιργασμαι τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον, ὅσον χρόνον, τὸν σὸν πατέρα ἐπιόντα ἐμοὶ ἀνάγκη ἠμυνόμην.*

when writing of this period, and therefore, since so honourable a man would not make false pretensions, he really must be so. The other witness, *Charon*, was the less liable to err, inasmuch as he was already a historian at the time when the event occurred, and lived under the Persian government. On the other hand, the earliest witnesses in favour of the opposite view were separated by more than a century from the period in question. *Ephorus (vid. Dahlmann*, Forschungen i. p. 79 sqq.) outlived the dominion of Alexander in Asia, and *Dinon* was the father of *Klitarch*, who was one of Alexander's attendants.

In consideration of these circumstances, the testimony of *Thucydides* and *Charon* was received without hesitation, in the later years of antiquity. *Plutarch* observes, that the account given by Thucydides accords more perfectly with the chronological works. *Nepos* says: "Scio plerosque ita scripsisse, Themistoclem Xerxe regnante in Asiam transiisse: sed ego potissimum Thucydidi credo, quod aetate proximus de his, qui illorum temporum historias reliquerunt et ejusdem civitatis fuit." *Suidas* and the *Scholiast on the equites of Aristophanes*, from which the former has extracted a second article on Thucydides word for word, do not even mention the other opinion, but describe Themistocles without reserve as flying *πρὸς τὸν Ἀρταξέρξην, τον Ξέρξου τοῦ Πέρσου παῖδα*. And we need have the less fear of contradiction; since, so far as we know, *all* modern scholars, with the exception of *Hofmann*, acknowledge the authority of *Thucydides* and *Charon*. We only remark further, that the opposite opinion may be rejected without hesitation, inasmuch as it is so easy to account for its origin, namely, either from the fact that the event bordered on the reigns of both Xerxes and Artaxerxes, or from a simple change of names, which we may assume the more readily on account of the frequency with which it occurs. We find it even in the contemporaneous author *Aristotle* (Pol. v. 8), and twice in *Ctesias*, viz. in chap. 35, where *Bähr* would alter the reading in opposition to all the MSS., and in chap. xliv. (see *Bähr* in loc. and *Reimarus* on Dio Cass. ii. p. 1370). Lastly, the error may have arisen from the flight of Themistocles being assigned to the proper year, whilst the reign of Xerxes was supposed to last twenty-one years; in which case, of course, it must have been with Xerxes

that he took refuge. This last explanation is favoured by the number of contemporaneous authors, by whom the same mistake is made; though, at the same time, so general an agreement presupposes the existence of some plausible reason.

We will now pass on to a review of the indirect proofs themselves.

1. We commence with *Cicero*, who mentions the exact year of the flight of Themistocles, and who made use of the annals of Atticus in determining such questions as these (Lael. c. 12). It is true that *Corsini* maintains (3, p. 180) that Cicero was writing of the year in which Themistocles was banished from Athens; but we only need to look at the passage, to convince ourselves that this was not the case; "Themistocles—fecit idem, quod 20 annis ante apud nos fecerat Coriolanus." The flight of Coriolanus to the Volscians occurred in the year 263 U.C. (B.C. 492). Hence Cicero places the flight of Themistocles in the year 472, a year later than we do; but this is of no importance, since the round number twenty suited Cicero's purpose best, whilst the more precise number nineteen is most suitable for chronologists. If *Dodwell's* arrangement were correct, there would be an interval of twenty-seven years between the two events. We cannot give up this argument, in spite of *Kleinert's* objections (p. 186); although for very obvious reasons, we do not regard it as decisive.

2. *Diodorus Siculus*, who places the flight of Themistocles in the second year of the 77th Olympiad (B.C. 471), favours our opinion, according to which it occurred two years earlier, much more than the opposite view. The same date is given, on independent grounds, in the Armenian Chronicle of *Eusebius*: "Ol. 77, 2, Themistocles ad Persas confugit" *(cf. Wagner de Themistocle Exsule* in the *Zeitschrift für Alterthumswissenschaft* 1847, p. 114). In Jerome's *Eusebius*, Ol. 76, 4 is the date given (not 77, 1). This is exactly the same, as the date assigned by us.

3. The strongest argument is this, the whole series of *rerum gestarum*, as given in their exact order by *Thucydides*, renders it impossible to assign the flight of Themistocles to a later date, than the year 473. That the expedition of the allied Greeks against Cyprus and Byzantium under the command of Pausanias,

the capture of the latter city, and the transfer of the supremacy in Greece from the Lacedaemonians to the Athenians, in consequence of the insolence of Pausanias, occurred in the year 477, we may assume as already demonstrated by *Clinton* (p. 250 sqq.).[1] The view entertained by *O. Müller* (Dorier ii., p. 498), who distributes these events over a space of five years, is opposed to the express statement of Thucydides ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ, chap. xciv.), who places the capture of Byzantium in the same year as the expedition against Cyprus. *Poppo* proves, that these words cannot be taken in connexion with what follows, without introducing an alteration into the text, in opposition to every critical authority. To this we may add, that the last of these two events is assigned to the year 477, by the unanimous voice of antiquity. *Clinton* has shown (p. 249), that in all the calculations as to the duration of the Athenian supremacy, this year is adopted as the starting point; and that the only point in which they differ, has reference to its termination. (It is true that he is vigorously opposed by *Kleinert*, p. 137 sqq., and the objections of the latter are to some extent well founded). Again, in Thuc. c. 128, the expedition against Cyprus and that against Byzantium are represented as following directly the one upon the other. But, if *Dodwell*, who also describes these events as occurring in the same year (p. 61), had been compelled to acknowledge, that they did not happen in the year 470, as he assumes, but in the year 477; he would surely have seen, that it was impossible to prolong the list of events till the year 465, and would therefore have given up his whole hypothesis. The discontent of the allies led to the recal of Pausanias. That this took place in the same year, may be inferred, first, from the nature of the case, for it presupposes that his command was not yet at an end, and secondly, from Thuc. chap. xcv.: ἐν τούτῳ δὲ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, μετεπέμποντο Παυσανίαν, ἀνακρινοῦντες ὧν περὶ ἐπυνθάνοντο. Pausanias came to Sparta, and being acquitted went *privately* in a trireme to Byzantium. This must have been very shortly afterwards;

[1] The arguments are thus concisely stated by him (p. 252): "Dodwelli rationi neutiquam favet Isocratis auctoritas. Repugnat rerum gestarum series, repugnat quod Thucyd. significat, Plutarchus et Aristides diserte tradunt, repugnat denique temporis spatium, quod Atheniensium imperio assignant Lysias, Isocrates ipse, Plato, Demosthenes, Aristides, quibus fortasse addendus est Lycurgus."

for Thucydides (chap. cxxviii.) proceeds immediately to mention it, and what is the most decisive of all, Pausanias finds the fleet still at Byzantium.[1] That he did not stay long, is evident from the statement made by Thucydides (chap. cxxxi.), to the effect that the Athenians drove him away by force.[2] He went to live at Colone in Troas; but was summoned back to Sparta in consequence of reports, which had been taken thither, that he was in correspondence with the barbarians. The Ephori threw him into prison, but soon released him again. It was at this time that his intimacy with Themistocles commenced. The latter had been expelled from Athens, and was now at Argos, whence he made excursions into the rest of the Peloponnesus. *Plutarch* states distinctly, that Pausanias did not take Themistocles into his confidence, until the latter was expelled from Athens; and according to all accounts, their intercourse was carried on by word of mouth. Now, it is evident that the interval, between the release of Pausanias and his death, cannot have been a very long one. Pausanias was not condemned; because no positive evidence could be brought against him. But it is psychologically improbable, that the proofs should have been long wanting, and that, for a number of years, such a man, as he was, should have guarded against giving the most open offence:—a man, whose pride became almost a phrensy, and who was so destitute of prudence, that he rendered the execution of his own

[1] *Kleinert* maintains that Thucydides says nothing of the kind. We find it, however, in the words of the chapter referred to: *ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἑλλήσποντον· τῷ μὲν λόγῳ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν πόλεμον*, "professedly to join the Greek expedition there," and in the statement in chap. cxxxi., to the effect that the *Athenians* compelled him to leave Byzantium.

[2] *Kleinert* (p. 151) has been led astray into a series of historical fictions, through misunderstanding the words *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ Βυζαντίου βίᾳ, ἐκπολιορκηθείς*. If his assumptions were well founded, the historical credibility of Thucydides would be placed in a very disadvantageous light. The true explanation of the words is given in *Heilmann's* translation of Thucydides (Ed. 2, by Bredow, p 148): "as the Athenians were not at war with the Lacedaemonians, and Pausanias had no warriors under his command, it cannot be an actual siege, which is intended here, as has been assumed by the majority of translators, by the most modern historians, and even by the Scholiast; but must be understood as meaning (*per synecdochem*), to bring any one into a certain condition by the employment of forcible measures; just as Thucydides himself, when describing in chap. cxxxv. how this same Pausanias was starved to death in the temple, uses the expression *ἐξεπολιόρκησαν αὐτὸν λιμῷ*."

treacherous plans an absolute impossibility; that, according to Thucydides (chap. cxxx.), he went about in Median clothes, took a journey through Thrace accompanied by Median and Egyptian Trabantes, kept a Persian table, rendered approach to his person difficult, and gave free vent to his passion;—a man, of whom Thucydides very significantly remarks: "*καὶ κατέχειν τὴν διάνοιαν οὐκ ἠδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἔργοις βραχέσι προυδήλου, ἃ τῇ γνώμῃ μειζόνως ἐσέπειτα ἔμελλε πράξειν*," and of whose foolish hauteur he gives an example (in chap. cxxxii.), from the period immediately following the battle of Platea. The agent in the discovery was the man, who was employed to carry to Artabazus the last letters to the king. With what haste the negotiations were carried on, and therefore that they did not occupy many years, may be seen from the fact, that the king sent Artabazus to Asia Minor expressly for the purpose of expediting them. The discovery was followed at once by the death of Pausanias. (See Thuc. cxxxiii.). We certainly do not allow too short a time, if we set down three years, as the period occupied in these transactions. That we must not allow more is apparent also from *Diodorus*, by whom all these events are assigned to the year 477 (Ol. lxxv. 4), though it must be admitted that he is not very trustworthy. How could this have occurred to him, or how could such a mistake by any possibility have arisen, if the beginning and end had been separated by an interval of eight or nine years? How impossible his sources rendered it for him, to place the death of Pausanias at any great distance from this period, is evident from his fictitious account of Themistocles being twice accused, of which no other explanation can be given.[1]—Now, if we must place the death of Pausanias in the year 474, or thereabout, certainly as early as this, the flight of Themistocles cannot have been later than the year 473. For Themistocles had been in the Peloponnesus for some time, when Pausanias died. The accusation of the former followed immediately afterwards (see Thuc. i. 135); and the combined interests of the Lacedaemonians, and of the enemies of Themistocles at Athens, the former of whom would enjoy nothing more

[1] As we attach but very little importance to the argument founded upon Diodorus, we do not think it worth while to follow *Kleinert* (p. 155) in his elaborate objections, which only prove, what every one knows, that in making use of Diodorus we have anything but a safe foundation.

than to make the Athenians participants in their disgrace,[1] may make us sure, that the decision would be expedited as much as possible. Themistocles, being now prosecuted by the Lacedaemonians and Athenians combined, fled from the Peloponnesus to Corcyra. But even there he was not allowed to remain, and therefore took refuge on the opposite continent. As he was still in danger of being overtaken by his pursuers (Thuc. chap. cxxxvi., *καὶ διωκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν προστεταγμένων κατὰ πύστιν ᾗ χωροίη*), he found it necessary to betake himself to Admetus, the king of the Molossians. But here he cannot have remained long; for, according to Thucydides, he was sent away as soon as his pursuers arrived. How can it possibly be imagined, that the latter were years behind him?[2] How could they long remain

1 Plut. Them. c. 23: *κατεβόων μὲν αὐτοῦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, κατηγόρουν δ' οἱ φθονοῦντες τῶν πολιτῶν.*

2 The advocates of the opposite view are unable to conceal their perplexity here: "We come now," says *Kleinert* (p. 163) "to the *most difficult point* in connexion with the whole exposition, the flight of Themistocles. . . 'How can it be imagined,' says *Hengstenberg*, 'that his pursuers were *years* behind him?' *It cannot be denied that there is something difficult and obscure* in this matter. Still one may *risk* a little in a good cause; and so I will not *despair*, but try to throw some light upon the darkness! *Our one object must be to gain time.*" This candid confession does not augur well for the details which follow. And the latter are actually arranged, precisely in the manner which we should be led to expect. Thus, he first of all attempts to vindicate the historical character of the account of a second accusation of Themistocles at Athens on the part of the Lacedaemonians; although this is mentioned by no one but Diodorus, of whom he himself speaks most disparagingly. This vain attempt he closes with the words, "thus we should already have gained some time." He tries, but to no purpose, to find some support for this fictitious account, in Plutarch's Themistocles, chap. xxiii. The "former charges" are those mentioned by Plutarch himself in chap. xxi. 2, namely, such as had been brought against Themistocles, before the arrival of the Lacedaemonians. Themistocles defended himself particularly against *these*, but not *directly* against the later ones, simply because the charges were not sent to him, but the order of arrest was made out at once. According to Plutarch, the flight followed immediately upon the accusation. The rest is of precisely the same character. How thoroughly *Kleinert* felt this himself, is evident from the explanation, which he introduces at the close, with the candour and honesty that distinguish him so much. At p. 232 he says: "The difficulties connected with the view, which I have defended, of the period of Xerxes' reign, I am far from overlooking. My efforts to remove them may not always have been successful; and *who knows, whether it is possible to remove them at all?*" He says, that he can still imagine the opposite opinion fighting its way to victory, through all the objections that can be brought against it. *Wagner* also adheres to Xerxes' twenty-one years' reign, on the authority of the Canon, and thus sets himself the task, of reconciling what never can be brought into harmony; and his perplexity is equally conspicuous. He says at p. 196, "Tria, haec constant, Themisto-

ignorant of his retreat, which was by no means kept a secret? It is expressly, and even superfluously, stated by *Thucydides*, that the arrival of his pursuers, and the flight to Asia, took place *very shortly afterwards* (ὕστερον οὐ πολλῷ). If we could place confidence in a statement of *Stesimbrotus*, quoted by *Plutarch*, we must certainly admit, that Themistocles stayed some months with Admetus. For he relates, that the friends of Themistocles brought his wife and children to join him there; having privately conveyed them away from Athens. But the unfounded character of this statement is apparent from the lame, fictitious story, which *Stesimbrotus* tells immediately afterwards, of Themistocles being shipped off by Admetus to Sicily, and of his having asked the daughter of Hiero in marriage, in return for his promise to bring the Greeks under his sway,—seeing that he inserts this, without observing that the one tale cancelled the other; a fact, which did not escape the observation of *Plutarch* (εἴτ' οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ἐπιλαθόμενος τούτων, ἢ τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα ποιῶν ἐπιλαθόμενον, πλεῦσαι φησιν κ. τ. λ.). *Plutarch* himself pronounces one of the tales of *Stesimbrotus*, "an impudent, wicked lie" (Pericles, chap. xiii.). From a story, told by *Suidas*, it is very clear, that the sons of Themistocles remained in Athens. It is also related by *Thucydides* (chap. cxxxvii.) and by *Plutarch* (Themistocles, chap. xxv.)—who begins to write independently at this point, and does not continue merely to quote from Thucydides, as *Kleinert* assumes,—that it was not till after his arrival in Asia,[1] that money was sent to him by his friends, to enable him to pay the boatman, who had brought him thither; a fact which both establishes the incorrectness of *Stesimbrotus*, and

elem a. Ol. 77. 3, vel certe non postea, ad Naxon appulsum esse, venisse ad Persas Artaxerxe recens rege facto, Artaxerxen a. Ol. 78. 4 regnare coepisse." There is only *one* method, he continues, of reconciling these apparently contradictory facts: "Themistoclem cum Pydnae navem conscendisset non confestim ad Persarum regem venisse, sed quinquennio fere praetermisso." And during this time Themistocles remained in concealment in Asia!—Six or seven years are said to have intervened, between his flight to Corcyra and his arrival at the court of Artaxerxes. We need only read the 137th chapter of Thucydides impartially, to see that this is impossible. To such forced hypotheses are they driven, who are determined to abide by the authority of the Canon.

[1] It is in vain for *Kleinert* to maintain that ὕστερον cannot be understood in this sense; compare the expression just before, ὕστερον ἀφικνεῖται ἐς Ἔφεσον.

proves that Themistocles did not stop sufficiently long at any of the places, in which he had taken refuge, for his friends to send him the money required. Themistocles was conveyed by Admetus to Pydna; and thence he sailed in a boat direct to Asia. Consequently, as not more than a year can possibly have elapsed, between the death of Pansanias and the arrival of Themistocles in Asia, the latter must have taken place, at the latest, in the year 473, and possibly as early as 474. Even if the former were the precise date, we should still be perfectly justified in fixing upon 474 as the year, in which Artaxerxes ascended the throne; seeing that it could not immediately coincide with the arrival of Themistocles.

4. If the assumption were correct, that Artaxerxes ascended the throne in the year 465, and that the flight of Themistocles took place in the same year, Charon of Lampsacus must have been excessively old. According to *Suidas*, he flourished under the first *Darius*, Ol. 69 (504 B.C.). Now, as his history contains an account of the flight of Themistocles to Artaxerxes, he must have been occupied in writing history for at least forty years, if that occurrence did not take place before the year 465. This is certainly not impossible; but, *in re dubia*, it must be rejected as being the more improbable. "Historiae enim non sunt explicandae," says *Vitringa* (Proll. in Zach., p. 29), "ex raris et insolentibus exemplis, sed ex communi vivendi lege et ordine. Si res secus se habeat, in ipsa historia ascribitur ne fallat incautos." (Compare the further excellent remarks which he makes on this subject). That this argument is not without force, is evident from the efforts, made by some of the supporters of the chronology which we regard as incorrect, to get rid of the reasoning, by cutting the knot. *Suidas*, after giving the age of Charon, as he found it in the earlier sources, adds, "μᾶλλον δὲ ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν Περσικῶν;" and takes away from the front, what he tacks on at the end. *Creuzer* (on the fragm. historr. Graec., p. 95), rejects this chronology, simply on the ground that it makes Charon too old.

5. According to *Thuc.* i. 136, when Themistocles was on his way to Asia, he came into the midst of the Athenian fleet, which was besieging Naxos. But, according to the testimony of *Thucydides* (chap. c.), which renders any other proofs unne-

cessary, this siege of Naxos preceded the great victory, gained by the Athenians at the Eurymedon, which occurred, according to *Diodorus*, in the year 470. (See the defence of the date in *Wagner*, p. 115). *Thucydides* brings us to almost the same year as *Diodorus* mentions; since he introduces the account of the revolt of Thasos (in the year 467) with χρόνῳ ὕστερον, which could not properly be used in connexion with events following immediately the one upon the other. (On χρόνῳ ὕστερον, see the remarks of *Wagner*, p. 115). Hence, the siege of Naxos and the flight of Themistocles cannot have occurred later than 471.

6. *Krüger* has shown, that, according to the statement of *Plutarch*, to the effect that Themistocles had attained the age of sixty-five years, his death cannot have happened later than the year 470, or his flight later than 473. It is stated by Aelian (v. hist. 3, 21),—and his statement has all the internal marks of credibility,—that, when Themistocles was a little boy, on coming one day from school he met Pisistratus the tyrant, and refused to move out of his way.[1] Now, assuming that this took place in the last year of the life of Pisistratus (B.C. 529), and that Themistocles was six years old at the time, he would then have been born in the year 535, and have died in the year 470. It cannot be adduced as an objection to this conclusion, that *Plutarch* speaks of Themistocles as still alive at the time of Cimon's Cyprian expedition (449 B.C.), and as being still young when the battle of Marathon was fought. For the former statement has evidently arisen, from confusing the expedition referred to, with the victory gained over the Persian fleet at Cyprus (vid. *Diodorus* xi. 60, and *Dahlmann* Forschungen i., p. 69); and the latter is based upon a conclusion, to which this mistake has given rise. "No one," says *Dahlmann* (p. 71), "who will read Thucydides i. 138 without prejudice, can fail to perceive that the death of Themistocles happened very shortly after his settlement in Persia, probably in the second year,—that is, of course, provided that he regards *Thucydides* himself as trustworthy."

[1] *Kleinert* (p. 218) wants to substitute one of the sons of Pisistratus, on his own authority. But this is nothing less than an acknowledgment of the force of the argument.

THE LAST WEEK; AND THE HALF-WEEK.

We have shewn, that the last week commences with the public appearance of the anointed one, that his death occurs in the middle of the week, and that the confirming of the covenant occupies the whole of it. All that remains to be done here, is to show how exactly the prophecy and its fulfilment coincide, with reference to one particular point, the death of Christ. The terminal point of the confirmation of the covenant is, more or less, a vanishing one, and therefore does not admit of being chronologically determined, with any minute precision. Suffice it to say, that, in the few years immediately following the death of Christ, the ἐκλογὴ were gathered together, out of the ancient people of the covenant—with what result we may see, for example, in the history of the first day of Pentecost,—and that the gospel of Christ was then carried to the Gentiles; so that the prophet could justly represent salvation, as both objectively and subjectively finished at the end of the seventy weeks, so far as the covenant nation was concerned, to which alone his prophecy referred.

The opinion, that the death of Christ was separated from his baptism by an interval of exactly three years and a half, was entertained by many of the Church Fathers. Thus *Eusebius* says (h. eccl. i. 10:) *οὐδ' ὅλος ὁ μεταξὺ τετραέτης παρίσταται χρόνος*; but whilst he adduces very incorrect reasons to support this assertion *(cf. Valesius* remarks on this passage), *Theodoret* remarks, with a correctness of reasoning almost beyond his age: *εἰ δέ τις καὶ τὸν χρόνον καταμαθεῖν ἐθέλει, ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου μαθήσεται· ὡς περὶ τὰ τρία ἔτη καὶ ἥμισυ κηρύξας ὁ κύριος καὶ τοὺς ἁγίους αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ καὶ τοῖς θαύμασι βεβαιώσας, τότε τὸ πάθος ὑπέμεινε.*

It is on the gospel of John particularly that the decision of this question depends. Three feasts of the passover are expressly mentioned by him, during the public life of Christ (see chap. ii. 13, vi. 4, and xiii. 1). It is a disputed point whether there is a fourth or not; and the decision of the question, whether the death of Christ is to be placed in the third or fourth year of his

public ministry, rests entirely upon the interpretation to be given to John v. 1, "after this there was a (the) feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem."

The question what feast is intended here is considerably simplified, by the fact that of late it has almost universally been admitted that, if the apostle refers to any particular feast at all, the choice must lie between the *feast of Purim* and the *Passover*. But, so far as the opinion that the apostle does not refer to any particular feast is concerned, we must at the very outset pronounce it untenable; though we do not feel called upon to enter more minutely into the reasons for rejecting it. It is a sufficient objection that, in every other case, John speaks of particular feasts; that, throughout his gospel, the arrangement is regulated by the feasts,—in this instance, for example, the feast mentioned introduces the third group (see the Commentary on the Revelation ii. 2, p. 187)—and that the references to the feasts have a chronological significance, for which reason the passover is mentioned in chap. vi. 4, even when Christ did not take part in it.

But the opinion, that the feast of Purim is intended here, requires to be investigated the more thoroughly, because, though it met with comparatively little acceptance formerly, it has found many champions in modern times.

The principal argument adduced in support of this opinion, and in opposition to the passover, is the following. "As the Lord remained at home till after the passover, of which mention is made a few days after his return, he did not appear in Jerusalem between the former (supposed) passover and this one, or rather not till six months later, namely, at the feast of tabernacles, and therefore neglected the obligation to take part in divine worship for more than a year and a half. Such an assumption is altogether opposed to the determination of Christ, to fulfil even outward righteousness; moreover, by acting thus, he would have exposed himself to public reproach."

A rare argument! For the matter would be made neither better nor worse by his visiting the feast of Purim. The observance of this feast could not be reckoned as belonging to the fulfilment of righteousness. For it is not prescribed in the law; and it was under the law alone, not under the ordinances of men, that the Son of God had placed himself. Prudential considera-

tions would contribute just as little, to induce him to take this step. For there was no ordinance of man which required the feast of Purim to be celebrated in Jerusalem. Hence, if the difficulty were a real one, it would affect the supporters of this view quite as much as it does ourselves. A man who spent all the rest of the year at Jerusalem, but was absent from the three festivals which were commanded to be celebrated at Jerusalem, was just as guilty of a violation of the law, as a man who had never set foot in Jerusalem at all. But the difficulty is altogether imaginary. The reason why Jesus remained away from Jerusalem for so long a period is stated clearly enough in chap. vii. 1, "he would not walk in Judea, because the Jews sought to kill him." By healing the sick man on the Sabbath-day, which occurred during the feast mentioned in chap. v. 1, Jesus came into decided conflict with the Sanhedrim, which henceforth thought only of killing him. As early as chap. v. 18, it is stated that, "for this reason the Jews sought the more to kill him." The natural consequence was, that Jesus avoided Jerusalem for a considerable time. This reason was quite sufficient for the Lord, on account of the attitude which he always assumed towards the ceremonial law. He only considered himself bound to observe it, so long as it did not clash with more important considerations. The latter were never sacrificed to its demands. Matt. xii. 3 is decisive on this point. In this passage the Lord refers those, who accused his disciples of breaking the ceremonial law, to the example of David, who ate the show-bread contrary to the law, and yet was not blamed by the Scriptures for so doing; a proof that the ceremonial law is not binding under all circumstances. He then points to his own absolute authority, which warranted him in breaking the law whenever his higher purposes required it. He calls himself the Lord of the Sabbath, and represents himself as greater than the temple. Christ's hour was not yet come; his presence in Jerusalem would necessarily have given occasion to his enemies to try and hasten it prematurely; and it would have been nothing less than tempting God, to refrain from employing human means to guard against the danger. Even for those who were not Lords of the Sabbath and the feasts, as the Son of God was, but who were unconditionally subject to the law, the obligation to observe the outward

religious injunctions of the law was getting weaker and weaker every day. If the temple had already been made a den of thieves, Luke xix. 46; if that ungodliness, which was soon to turn it into a house of abominations, was already fully developed; how could the laws, which related to it as the house of God, be any longer carried out in their full extent? The temple did not consist of stone and mortar. In its essential characteristics, it was no less destroyed at the time of Christ, than it had been during the Babylonish captivity; and hence, it was no more reprehensible to neglect to visit it in the one case, than it had previously been in the other, whenever circumstances directed attention to the evil side, namely to those respects, in which the temple was no longer really the house of God.

"It is not less improbable," in *Wieseler's* opinion (chronol. Synopse p. 217), "that John should not have had a single record to make of the instructions of Jesus, during almost an entire year. For if the feast mentioned in chap. v. 1 was a passover, everything related in the fifth chapter belongs to this one passover."—But if Jesus was obliged to hurry away from Jerusalem and Judea, in consequence of the plots of the Sanhedrim, John lost thereby the requisite material for a fuller account. From chap. ii. 12 till the commencement of the history of the Passion, John supplies the omissions of the first three Evangelists, who confine their accounts to Galilee, by narrating what occurred on the triumphal journey to Jerusalem. The narrative of John only touches upon Galilean ground, by way of exception, in chap. vi., where Jesus addresses the crowd, which is on its way to Jerusalem to the feast of the Passover, and preaches to them, so to speak, an Easter sermon on the true Paschal lamb: "my flesh is meat indeed." In the second group (chap. ii. 12—iv. 54), every thing is very different from what we find here in the third. For, in the former case, Jesus spent some months in Judea, after the feast was over (see John iii. 22, iv. 1—3).

When *Wieseler* asserts (p. 217), that the expression *μετὰ ταῦτα*, in chap. vi. 1, cannot possibly cover an interval of an entire year; he attaches far too much importance to these connecting formulae. We simply remind him of Matt. iii. 1: *ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις παραγίνεται Ἰωάννης ὁ βαπτιστής*, which

immediately follows the account of Joseph's settlement in Nazareth; and also of Gen. xxii. 1.

We now proceed to the arguments in favour of our opinion.

1. The dispute is decided at once in favour of the Passover, if the article is to be regarded as genuine. That we cannot deal so summarily with it as *Wieseler* does, who says, "both exegetically and critically the conclusion is indisputable that the article is a later correction," is evident from the fact, that *Tischendorf* has restored it to the text. It is enough to excite suspicion, that even *Wieseler* places the exegetical before the *critical*. The omission of the article might very easily have originated with those, who did not know what to make of it. *The* feast must either be the feast *par excellence*, or the feast mentioned before. In the former case, it must be the Passover, which was shown to be the one fundamental festival of the nation by the fact, that it was instituted before any of the others, before the Sabbath itself, and even before the conclusion of the covenant at Sinai, of which it lay at the foundation (for proofs of the superior worth attached to the Passover see *Lund* jüd. Heiligthümer p. 974). And in the latter case, we are still brought to the feast of the Passover, as being the only festival mentioned before. Not only is it noticed at the commencement of the second group, which answers to that of the third, and comes very near to it, in spite of the distance between the two, in consequence of the striking similarity of the words employed (chap. ii. 13, "and the Passover of the Jews was at hand, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem;" chap. v. 1, "after this was the feast of the Jews, and Jesus went up to Jerusalem"); but it also occurs a very short time before, in chap. iv. 45: "then when he was come into Galilee, the Galileans received him, having seen all the things that he did at Jerusalem at the feast; for they also went unto the feast."—But, even if the article is not genuine, we can only refer it to the Passover. For, as it is *a priori* impossible that there should be any uncertainty as to what feast it was, we must complete the passage ("there was feast (not even *a* feast) of the Jews") from the context. According to *Winer*, the definite article may be omitted, "when the omission does not introduce any ambiguity into the discourse, or leave the reader in any uncertainty whether he is

to understand the word definitely, or indefinitely." This is the case here. Every unbiassed reader thinks at once of the Passover. The decision of this point rests upon what goes before; especially as the expression, "and Jesus went up to Jerusalem," precludes the possibility of any other being intended than one of the three leading festivals; and among these it is most natural to fix upon the Passover, inasmuch as this was the only one, at which it was a universal custom to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. The words *κατ' ἑορτήν* in Matt. xxvii. 15 and Mark xv. 6 are perfectly analogous; so perfectly so, that every other analogy is rendered superfluous in consequence. On the latter passage, *Fritzsche* observes: "quanquam *ἡ ἑορτή* de quibusvis feriis in genere dicitur, tamen h. l. *quum de Paschate agatur* (Marc. xiv. 1), *κατ' ἑορτήν* ad Paschatis ferias referri debet: singulis Paschatis feriis;" and *Lücke* (on John ii. p. 8) says: "the formula *κατὰ δὲ ἑορτήν* is certainly used to denote the Passover, *but only in connection with the history of the Passion.* In itself, it leaves the feast undetermined." The applicability of these words to the passage before us is at once apparent.

2. The standing expression, *τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, which was based upon Lev. xxiii. 2, is never used by John in connection with any but the three leading festivals appointed in the law, twice (? all three times) of the Passover, and once of the feast of Tabernacles. What proof can possibly be adduced that, even in later times, the idea has been entertained of placing the feast of Purim on a *par* with the rest, and above all with the feast of the Passover? The passage, quoted by *Hug*, Einl. 2, p. 200, relates not to the feast, but to the Book of Esther. The festival was always regarded as popular, rather than religious. The account of the opposition, which was raised to its first introduction, was not forgotten (see *Lightfoot* on John x. 22). Besides, even if this could be established, what right has any one to draw conclusions from the later, as to the earlier period? It was very natural that this festival should gain in estimation, in proportion as the carnal dispositions of the Jews increased in force; and, on the other hand, that the three leading festivals should continue to be distinguished above all the rest, so long as the temple remained standing, and the whole body of the people went to Jerusalem

to attend them. The *Enkaenia* (feast of Dedication), which stand on the same footing as the feast of Purim, seeing that the latter is not among the feasts prescribed to Israel in Lev. xxiii., are *not* called ἑορτὴ τῶν Ἰουδαίων in John x. 22.

3. The words "Jesus went up to Jerusalem," when taken in connexion with ver. 13, from which it appears that the city was filled with persons, who had also come to the festival, render it impossible to refer the expression to the celebration of the feast of Purim. From the very nature of the case, the people did not travel to Jerusalem to keep this feast. It was not connected in any way with the temple; and even in Jerusalem, there was no divine worship associated with it. The whole festival was restricted to reading the Book of Esther, which took place in the synagogues; doing no work; and eating and drinking. It was kept by the Jews of the *Diaspora*, before it began to be observed in Palestine.—Moreover we can bring forward positive testimony to the fact, that the people did not think of going to Jerusalem to celebrate the feast of Purim. *Josephus* (Antiquities xi. 6) says "the Purim is celebrated by the Jews in every part of the earth; and banquets are prepared on the occasion." In the *Talmud Megilla* (chap. i. § 1—3), there are rules laid down, as to the proper time for keeping the feast, in such cities as were walled round in the days of Joshua; in such as were not enclosed so early as that; and lastly in villages (on the reason for this distinction see *Vitringa* de decem otiosis c. 18 in Ugolini thes. t. 21 p. 431 sqq.). It cannot be objected to this, that, "according to chap. x. 22, Jesus was in Jerusalem at the time of the *Enkaenia*, which could also be celebrated out of Jerusalem." There is no force in this objection, unless it can be shown that Jesus went to Jerusalem, for the express purpose of being present at the feast. But the object of his journey really was, to attend the feast of Tabernacles. He then remained in Jerusalem for some time; and it was during his stay there that the feast of Dedication took place. And even if this had not been the case, the *Enkaenia*, as a festival in commemoration of the dedication of the temple, was so closely connected with the temple itself, that there were probably many who did more than the law required.

4. It is extremely improbable, that Jesus should have visited

feast of Purim, and not have taken part in the Passover, ich was kept a month later. Was there anything in the ure of the feast of Purim, which was likely to have attractions Jesus? We are very far from wishing to detract from the hority of the Book of Esther, but when judged by the true ıdard, reference to Christ, it undoubtedly occupies the lowest ɔe among all the books of the Old Testament. Is it likely t the Saviour, who never mentions this book, and whose stles never refer to it in any way, should have attended the t, which was instituted to commemorate the events there rated; with the deliberate intention, as *Hug* supposes, of wing the estimation in which that book was held by him? was such a festival as this, in which it was *meritorious* to get xicated, and customary to drink on, till it was impossible to inguish between "blessed be Mordecai," and "cursed be nan,"[1] adapted to promote the object, for which all the l's journeys to Jerusalem were made. Even a human teacher ld not select time and place, in such a manner as this. *seler's* conjecture (p. 222), that possibly Jesus attended this val, to show his approval of recreation (!), is certainly a very ɛless one. Not less so is another one, namely, that Jesus ıded thereby to furnish a *practical* proof, that he did not ise the Jewish nationality. The enjoyment connected with festival was of an unholy kind; and the nationality of the ɜ is generally held up by Jesus, for the purpose of condemn- rather than approving.—The twofold motive, which led s to attend the festivals at Jerusalem, was to observe the pre- ɜ of the law, *and* to make an impression upon the crowds of le, who were assembled in such numbers, and in a state of l suited to the occasion. Neither of these motives could led him to the feast of Purim.

According to ver. 9, the healing of the sick man took place ıe Sabbath, and the manner in which the first and second ɜs are connected, as well as ver. 13, lead to the conclusion this Sabbath formed part of the feast. But, if so, it l not have been the feast of Purim; for that was never

e who will not get drunk must sleep, "for after this he will be unable inguish between the two words," *Bodenschatz* Kirchl. Verf. der Juden).

celebrated on a Sabbath since the two festivals were thoroughly opposed to each other, and the ordinance of God could not give place to the appointment of man. If it happened to fall upon a Sabbath, it was postponed; (for the proofs of this see *Reland*, antiqq. sacr. iv. 9, and *Schickard* de festo Purim, in the crit. Sacr. vi. p. 491 sqq. Frankfort).[1]

But we are not restricted to the proof derived from John v. 1. By the side of this we may place another from the parable in Luke xiii. 6 sqq., from which, in addition to its own independent significance, we may obtain a guarantee for the correctness of the result, to which we have been brought by John v. 1. At the time when Jesus related this parable, three years of his ministry had already passed. According to ver. 7, the owner of the vineyard (God) says to the husbandman (Christ), "behold these three years I come seeking fruit on this fig-tree, and find none." *Wieseler* observes (p. 202),—after having proved, what is perfectly evident, that the three years in the parable contain a chronological *datum*,—"on this supposition, of course we have not to understand the τρία ἔτη as meaning exactly three years, neither more nor less; for it would not have suited the character of the parable to enter into a calculation of months and days. But, if we are to regard it as actually containing a chronological *datum*, it must mean at least from two years and a half to three years, and at the most three years and a half; for otherwise it

[1] In opposition to this, *Wieseler* maintains (p. 219), that it was only an arrangement of *modern* date, which prohibited Purim from being kept on a Sabbath. "At the time of the Mishna, the 14th, Adar might still fall on a Saturday; but in this case the reading of the Megilla was postponed till another day." To this we reply, that of course the 14th Adar might fall upon a Sabbath, but not the feast of Purim. It was the reading of the Megilla, which constituted the very essence of this festival. That section of the Mishna, which treats of the feast of Purim, actually bears the *name* of Megilla. There was nothing beside this, but feasting; and *Bartenora* (in Surenhus. Mischna 2, p. 388) says of the Purim banquet, "*juxta omnium consensum* non faciunt illud die Sabbati." The leading passage of the Mishna, on which *Wieseler* relies (Megilla c. 1 § 2), "if it falls upon the Sabbath, the reading takes place in villages and large towns on the previous day of assembly, and in walled cities on the day following," shows, that, at the time of the Mishna, and therefore in the time of Christ also, it was regarded as a settled thing, that the Purim was incompatible with the Sabbath. It is simply from a misunderstanding of the passage itself, that *Wieseler* interprets the second passage, which he quotes from the Mishna, as relating to the connexion between the feast of Purim and the Sabbath. The remarks of *Vitringa* (p. 238 sqq.) contribute to a correct interpretation of this passage.

would have been called either two or four years." At this time, at least two years and a half had gone by. But according to ver 8, the fig-tree was to receive a respite of another year: "Lord, let it alone this year also, till I shall dig about it and dung it." From this we obtain, in all, at least three years and a half; answering to the four passovers of John. Those, who allot a shorter space of time to the public teaching of Christ, are obliged to resort to forcible expedients. Thus for example, *Bengel* remarks on τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος (this year), "the third year;" whereas according to ver. 7 three years had already passed. Καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος must therefore mean, in addition to the three, the fourth also. Hence when *Bengel* observes, "it follows from this parable, that there were in all three passovers between the baptism and the resurrection of Christ," we must substitute four for three. Still more constrained is *Olshausen's* notion, that τοῦτο τὸ ἔτος is to be taken in a general sense; as denoting the period between the ascension of Jesus and the destruction of Jerusalem. —If it is clearly decided, that the parable of the fig-tree was delivered by Christ a year before his death, we should be inclined to look upon Luke xiii. 1 and 4 as referring to intelligence, which had been brought to Christ by some Galileans, who were on their way back from the feast (namely the last passover but one), at which we find from John vi. 4 that Jesus was not present.—The parable of the fig-tree in the vineyard is intimately connected with the symbolical action, performed by Christ, when he afterwards cursed the fig-tree (Matt. xxi. 18 sqq.). The year of grace had now expired; and the sentence, which had been delayed before, now actually took effect upon Jerusalem, which did not know the time of its visitation. Compare the words, "immediately the fig-tree withered away," with Luke, "if not, then after that thou shalt cut it down."

MODERN NON-MESSIANIC EXPOSITORS.

We shall confine ourselves to such points as have not already been fully demonstrated in the exposition.

These expositors are for the most part agreed, that, as the time fixed by Jeremiah had long passed by without his prophecy being fulfilled, the supposed Pseudo-Daniel attempted a kind of mystic interpretation, or paraphrase of the seventy years. For seventy years he substituted seventy weeks of years. They also agree in the following respect; like most of the Jewish expositors, they fix upon the year of the destruction of Jerusalem, or the commencement of the Babylonish captivity, as the starting point, and thus include the whole period, during which the city was lying desolate, in the seventy weeks; they look upon the anointed one, in ver. 25, as a different person from the anointed one in ver. 26, and suppose the former to be Cyrus; lastly, by the coming prince they understand Antiochus Epiphanes; they regard the last week, as the period of oppression, to which he subjected the covenant people, and fix upon his death and the consequent deliverance of the people, as the terminal point of the whole prophecy. In all these points they have been preceded by *Marsham*, to whom we do no injustice when we pronounce him a rationalist in disguise, and who has at least the merit of having called forth the admirable treatise of *Vitringa*, to which we have already frequently alluded. They differ from one another as to the anointed one, who is spoken of in ver. 26 as being cut off. According to *Bertholdt* and *Rosenmüller*, this is Alexander; *Bleek* and *Ewald* say that it is Seleucus IV. Philopator, the brother of Antiochus Epiphanes and his immediate predecessor, who was poisoned. According to *Eichhorn*, *Wieseler*, *Hitzig*, and *Hofmann*, he is Onias III., the High Priest. There is a hint at the genesis of these views in the words of *Hitzig*: "after the death of Jesus the Son of man (vii. 13), it was inevitable, that those, who regarded him as the Messiah, should interpret the words 'the anointed one shall be cut off' as pointing to him." It was necessary at any price to set aside the exposition, which owed its origin to faith; for the simple reason that they had got rid of faith itself. In what we have already written, these views have been sufficiently refuted. We add, however, the following remarks.[1]

[1] If any one desires more, especially if he wishes for details of the different Anti-Messianic expositions, he will find them in *Steudel* (de recentioribus quibusdam loci Dan. ix. 24—27, interpret. quae circa Ant. Epiph. aevum

1. We cannot see, how the supposed Pseudo-Daniel could possibly regard the prophecies of Jeremiah as unfulfilled, and so be induced to make them the subject of a parody. These prophecies contain no Messianic elements whatever. All that Jeremiah announced, as about to take place at the end of the seventy years,—the termination of the Chaldean captivity, and the return of the covenant people to their father-land,—was fully accomplished as soon as the seventy years had expired (see *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 147). The author of the Book of Daniel evidently looked upon this as actually the case, when he mentioned in chap. i. 21, that Daniel continued till the first year of Cyrus, the time of deliverance for which he longed (see *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 54 and 254), and the same view is also to be met with in other passages of the Scriptures; *e.g.*, Ezra i. 1, and 2 Chr. xxxvi. 21. *Wieseler*, who acknowledges the force of this argument, says (p. 13): "Every interpretation of the seventy weeks is false, which proceeds upon the supposition, that the author intended nothing more, than to give a mystic paraphrase of the prophecy respecting the seventy years, on account of their not having *been fulfilled* in their natural sense; for we have proved from Dan. i., that the author believed this prophecy to have received the most literal fulfilment."

2. A mystic interpretation like this, "for seventy years write quickly 490," is so evidently a mere caprice,[1] that no author could have adopted it, unless he intended to make fun of Jeremiah. For how could he have expected any one else to look upon it as a serious exposition; not to mention the impossibility of his regarding it in this light himself. But can we imagine it possible, that the same writer, who confesses in ver. 6, that the greatest sin which the people committed against God had been their refusal to hearken to the voice of his servants, the prophets, who spoke in his name, should have cherished the design of undermining the authority of the earlier prophets, in such a

oraculum hoc editum sumunt: *Tubing.* Pfingstprogramm, 1835), in *Blomstrand*, and in *Auberlen*.—The Anti-Messianic expositors themselves take care, that the untenable character of their whole method shall be more and more exposed to the light, by means of their mutual recriminations. *Wieseler* and *Hitzig* are particularly deserving of praise, for what they have done in this respect.

[1] *Ewald* himself calls it "a leap in thought."

way as this? How could the supposed Pseudo-Daniel expect, that any great importance would be attached to his own announcements as to times and seasons; when he had set aside, in so absurd a manner, the earlier predictions of a prophet, who was universally esteemed.

3. Even if the author intended merely to give a paraphrase of the prophecies of Jeremiah, it was indispensably necessary, that he should adopt the same starting point for his seventy weeks of years, as Jeremiah had previously adopted for the seventy years. Now, in both the prophecies in question, the starting point is the fourth year of Jehoiakim (see the *Dissertation on Daniel* ut supra). And many of the Anti-Messianic expositors fix upon this year, as being also the starting point of our prophecy. But, in the first place, they cannot point to any divine command to rebuild Jerusalem, (we have already shown at ver. 25, that there is no such command in Jer. xxv.); and secondly, from the fourth year of Jehoiakim to the anointed the prince,—if we are to understand this term as applying to Cyrus,—there are not forty-nine years, but, according to the constant biblical chronology, which is also adopted in ver. 2 of this chapter, seventy years. *Hitzig* takes refuge in the assumption, that the seventy weeks and the seven weeks are reckoned from different starting points; the former from the year 606, the latter from the destruction of the city in 588. But this is clearly inadmissible; for the seven weeks form the commencement of the seventy. Moreover, *Hitzig* cannot point to any command to rebuild Jerusalem in 588. The prophecy in Jer. xxx. 31, to which he has recourse now, as formerly to chap. xxix., does not relate to so special an occurrence as this, but to the deliverance of Israel and Judah generally, and mentions no particular period of time, such as would certainly be required in this case; and in addition to this, it was written before the destruction (see vol. ii., p. 423). But even with these great sacrifices (see the remarks on ver. 25, in disproof of any reference to Jer. xxx. 31), *Hitzig* does not succeed in making the numbers square. From the destruction of Jerusalem to the first year of Cyrus (B.C. 536), there were not forty-nine, but fifty-two years. To say "that Cyrus first came under the notice of the Jews in the year 539," is a mere attempt to get rid of the difficulty. We

find nothing to this effect in history. Cyrus could not have been described as "the anointed, the prince," before the year 536. And there is the less ground for fixing a chronological error upon the author, from the fact, that he shows such an accurate acquaintance with this period, even in its minutest details, and also, because such unanimity has prevailed among the Jews from the very earliest times, with reference to the chronological data, which lie so conspicuously upon the surface. We may surely count upon general support, if we substitute another name for that of Daniel in *Hitzig's* remark, "if the calculation does not suit, Daniel has made a mistake."

4. The fact that, in ver. 24, there is an evident antithesis to ver. 2, where it is said that seventy years are to be accomplished upon the ruins of Jerusalem, militates against the assumption, that the destruction is taken as the point of commencement. How can the years, which are to be accomplished *upon the ruins*, be included in those, which are to be accomplished *upon the city?* Again, according to the notion of the "more modern scientific expositors," the rebuilding of the city was to commence with the sixty-two weeks; and yet, the author is supposed to have calculated these sixty-two weeks from the year 606, the first year of the Chaldean captivity. *Hitzig* says, without hesitation: "the sixty-two weeks reach to the year 606; but the events, which are said to occur during these weeks, did not commence till the year 536." It is very clear that, instead of charging the author with such thoughtless capriciousness as this, one would rather call in question the confident assertions of "the more modern scientific expositors," which have but little ground to rest upon. *Steudel* has justly observed, with reference to such assumptions, "we must first enquire, whether the author, who had it in his power to adopt any method of computation that he pleased, would have created such difficulties as these."

5. דָּבָר, without the article, cannot properly be referred to the definite announcement made by Jeremiah, which is mentioned in the previous verse. Moreover, the expression יָצָא דָּבָר, which is used in ver. 23, where the command is said to go forth, that seventy weeks shall pass over Jerusalem, is a proof that, in this case also, the reference is not to a prophetic *announcement*, but to a divine *command*. But what passage is there in the book

of Jeremiah, in which we can find the least trace of any such divine command, that Jerusalem is to be rebuilt?

6. If the prophet had no further design, than to extend the period fixed by Jeremiah, we should necessarily find the longer period terminated by the same event, which Jeremiah had already described as marking the end of the period referred to by him. But there is no sign of this. Of the blessings, which are spoken of in ver. 24, as belonging to the close of the seventy weeks, not one is mentioned by Jeremiah. On the other hand, the termination of the Babylonian captivity, and the return to their own country, which Jeremiah actually does place at the end of the seventy years, are here supposed to have taken place at the commencement of the weeks, which are determined upon the city and nation.

7. If the seventy weeks reached no further than the time of the Maccabees, Daniel would have laid himself so thoroughly open to the charge of a gross violation of chronology, that we should be greatly perplexed by the fact, which has been adduced, as the leading argument against the genuineness of his book, viz., the accurate acquaintance with history, which the book itself proves him to have possessed. In this case, the interval between the days of Cyrus, and the death of Antiochus Epiphanes would be set down at sixty-three weeks, that is 441 years, whereas it was not more that 372. We should have to assume, therefore, that there was an error of sixty-nine years. This error increases in importance, if we take into consideration another assertion, which has been made by several commentators. They affirm, for example, that the author does not mention more than four Persian kings in all, subsequent to the time of Cyrus, and that he makes Xerxes the last of these, and represents him as being conquered by Alexander (see, *e.g.*, *Bertholdt*, p. 716). If so, he would have shortened the Persian period by about 147 years, which would have to be added to that of the Seleucidae, in addition to the sixty-nine years, of which there is an excess in any case. This would give 380 years to the Seleucidae, which would have to be divided among eight kings, including Antiochus Epiphanes; an error, to which it would be impossible to find the slightest analogy, even in the calculations of the most ignorant Jews, who have attempted to determine the chronology of

the period referred to! In the *Seder Olam* (chap. xxx.) its duration is fixed at 180 years. The errors of Josephus, in relation to this question (for an examination of which see *Brink*, examen chronol. Jos. in *Havercamp* ii. p. 298), would not be worth noticing by the side of it. And what makes the matter worse, is that Daniel shews such an accurate acquaintance with this period, even in its most minute particulars! We see, then, what ground *Bertholdt* had, for describing the seventy weeks as a round number, which gives but an indefinite idea of the actual chronology. We have already cut off this last retreat, but is it not in itself a proof, that in secret the difficulty is regarded as insuperable? The fact, that we have only forced hypotheses to deal with, is apparent from the different methods to which the Anti-Messianic expositors have had recourse. *Ewald* says, "the difficulty certainly arises here, that, reckoning from the year 607, which is to be taken as the starting point according to Jer. xxv. 1, more than forty-nine of the seven times seventy years have passed, before we reach the time of Cyrus, and less than 434 between the reign of Cyrus and 176 B.C.; in fact the whole period does not fit in well."—(About half a century too much!) —But, in *Ewald's* opinion, the author did not know any better. Now, this is certainly not a very probable assumption. A person, who was so thoroughly uninformed on such a subject, would not be likely to meddle with it all. The whole point of the matter rests on the chronological data. The supposed Pseudo-Daniel would have found it necessary to make any sacrifice rather than lay himself open here. "How would he have dared," says *Steudel*, "to lay his interpretation open to the gravest charges, when he knew that it was founded upon the shallowest acquaintance with history." The untenable character of this assumption, then, has not been hidden from most of the "modern scientific expositors." But they attempt to get out of the difficulty, by still less scientific means than these. Whilst *Ewald* could not make up his mind, to dispute the evident fact, that the seventy weeks of years, like the seventy years of Jeremiah, form a continuous whole, which is subdivided into the three periods of seven, sixty-two, and one; the commentators referred to (*Lengerke*, *Wieseler*, *Hofmann*, *Hitzig* and others) are ready to sacrifice everything, in order to get rid of the seven weeks, that

they may have only sixty-three to dispose of. But the simple fact, that they cannot agree as to the method, by which this end is to be attained, is a clear proof, that we are in the midst of a region of inclination and caprice. In the text, the seven weeks stand before the sixty-three; but *Hitzig* places them in the middle *Wieseler* at the end (in a review of his in the *Göttingen Gel. Anzeiger* 1846 p. 113 sqq., in which he revokes the most important of the views he formerly expressed); whilst, according *to Hofmann*, they are entirely distinct, and refer to a period, which is separated from the sixty-three weeks by thousands of years. These worthless and marvellous hypotheses of the "modern scientific expositors" are all knocked on the head by the simple sentences of *Blomstrand:* "The seventy hebdomads in ver. 24 are the same as the seven, sixty-two, and one, in the verses which follow. The different parts of the seventy hebdomads do not coincide; nor are they separated by intervals. Of the seven, sixty-two, and one, the seven are the first, and the one is the last." (Compare what we have already written at p. 97). The acknowledgment made by *Hitzig*, "the seventy weeks extend as far as 116 B.C., that is forty-nine years later than the year 166," is fatal to the whole system of Anti-Messianic exposition; and *Hitzig's* assertion, that "the πρῶτον ψεῦδος in the calculation is the seven weeks, which *the author* was obliged to dispose of," is much more applicable to the torturing process, to which these expositors are obliged to have recourse, in order that these seven weeks may be disposed of by themselves. It is certainly *a priori* improbable, that the author, who was under no constraint, should have created such difficulties of his own accord. It is an edifying spectacle, to observe how those, who have once departed from the simple truth, exert themselves to find the door, and how one searches here, and another there, but alike without success.

8. If the prophecy relates to the Maccabean era, how is it that it contains no allusion whatever to an event, which is mentioned in all the other prophecies of Daniel connected with this period, the restoration of the state and temple? Why does it finish with the mournful announcement of complete and permanent desolation, which has nothing to do with this period at all? A poor comfort for a prophet in want of consolation!

Everything that serves to divest of its terrors the predicted desolation of the city and temple, when the prophecy is understood as referring to the Messianic era, is entirely wanting in such a case as this. In the Maccabean age, the theocracy itself was suspended, when the city and temple were destroyed, for its very existence was inseparably connected with both of these.

9. As we have already observed, *Bertholdt* supposes the anointed one, mentioned in ver. 26, to be Alexander. This gives rise to a whole host of difficulties. The anointed one dies sixty-two weeks of years after Cyrus; and yet there are said to be only four kings between them, each of whom, therefore, must have reigned more than a hundred years. He is described as being cut off in the same week of years, at the end of which Antiochus Epiphanes is said to have perished, *i.e.*, the seventieth. And yet, according to the actual history, there were *seven kings* between him and Antiochus, and, according to *Bertholdt's* imaginary history, *ten!* *Bertholdt* tries to get rid of these difficulties, by assuming that אַחֲרֵי does not mean *after*, but *before* the expiration! And as Alexander did not suffer a violent death, although this is the ordinary meaning of הִכָּרֵת, he affirms that it also is applied to *mortem placidam*. Another dilemma arises in connexion with Seleucus Philopator. It is predicted that the anointed will not die till after the end of the sixty-two weeks, that is, till the seventieth; and the termination of the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes is said to occur in the same week. But how is this possible, seeing that the latter reigned eleven full years? Our opponents have the less ground for pretending, that there is any error here; since the author, according to their own account, was contemporaneous with the events. We shall content ourselves with merely referring to the impossible supposition, already noticed, that the מָשִׁיחַ is a heathen ruler, having no connexion whatever with the theocracy.

10. The notion, that the prophecy expires in the Maccabean era, is opposed to the unanimous testimony of Jewish tradition. In the first book of the Maccabees, reference is constantly made to the prophecies in chap. viii. and xi., relating to that period, but never to the passage before us (see *Dissertation on Daniel*,

p. 214).[1] We have also shown in this dissertation (p. 215), that, in the times immediately after Christ, the prophecy was universally referred to a destruction that had yet to take place, namely, that by the Romans (see the remarks on ver. 27). To the passages quoted at ver. 27, we have still to add *Josephus, de bell. Jud.* 6. 5. 4, "having it written in the prophecies, that the city and temple would be destroyed, as soon as the temple became quadrangular." This, as *Reland* has already observed, can only be founded upon a false rendering of the בנף in the passage before us. On the other hand, the words which immediately follow, "but what chiefly incited them to the war was an ambiguous oracle, which is also found in the sacred writings," &c., cannot be connected with this passage (as they have been by *Less*, über Religion ii. 708, and many others); seeing that the χρησμὸς ἀμφίβολος is distinguished clearly enough from the prophecy quoted immediately before. And there is just as little ground for the assertion of the same writer, that it was this prediction alone, that gave rise to the expectation, which was so general among the Jews, at the time when Christ came, and which had spread so widely throughout the whole of the East, namely, that the Messiah was about to appear,—an expectation, of which so many false Christs availed themselves, for the accomplishment of their own purposes. It was certainly founded, to a much greater extent, upon the announcement in chap. ii. The fourth kingdom was generally and correctly supposed to be the Roman empire; and the fifth, which was to destroy it, the kingdom of the Messiah (see *Josephus* x. 10, 4). What was more natural therefore, than that the expectation of the Messiah should be confidently entertained, from the time when the Roman empire first came into hostile collision with the Jews? The unanimity, with which this prophecy was understood as referring to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, is also apparent from the fact that none of the later Jewish expositors have ventured to adop-

[1] *Hitzig's* assertion, that 1 Macc. i. 54 contains an allusion to this prophecy, and furnishes a proof that it was at that time supposed to refer to Antiochus Epiphanes, is refuted by what we have stated there. We have already proved in our notes on ver. 27, that there is no ground for the assertion, that the Septuagint version of this passage is based upon the supposition, that the prophecy refers to Antiochus Epiphanes.

a different interpretation, notwithstanding the disadvantage, at which it places them in their controversy with Christians (for proofs, see *Sostmann* p. 18 sqq.).—Moreover, the universal prevalence of the term Messiah at the time of Christ, as the name by which the expected one was known, seems to show, that previous to the time, when unbelief in Him who had appeared rendered a correct interpretation impossible, the *anointed one* was generally understood to mean the Messiah. And this, again, presupposes that the prophecy, from which the name was derived, was one held in high estimation. Now this we know to have been the case, in a very eminent degree, with the prophecy before us at the period referred to.

11. The theory, which connects this prophecy with the Maccabean era, and the entire non-Messianic interpretation, will continue false, so long as the word of Christ is true,—that is, to all eternity. We have already proved, in the *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 213 (compare p. 179 sqq. of this volume), that Matt. xxiv. 15 (Mark xiii. 14), contains an allusion to this prophecy; and we have also shown at p. 216, that it is quoted by the Lord as an actual prophecy, which had still to be fulfilled, so far as the destruction of the city and temple was concerned.—*Hitzig*, who does not trouble himself about the authority of the Lord, admits without hesitation, that "the abomination of desolation" in Mark xiii. 14, is taken from Daniel, as is expressly stated in the parallel passage (Matt. xxiv. 15), and in fact from chap. ix. 27. *Wieseler*, who hesitates to attack the authority of Christ, acknowledges at p. 77, that Christ himself appears to give his sanction to the Messianic interpretation; but thinks that, if it appears to us *impossible*, that there should be any reference to the Messiah, we shall also be disinclined to attribute such a doctrine to Christ himself. With these words before us, we shall not set out with the expectation of finding his attempt, to prove that Jesus only applied these words of Daniel to his own fate by way of accommodation, altogether free from partiality. He finds himself in a false position, and the more so because he admits, (1) that, at the time of Christ, it was a thoroughly national conviction, that the passage referred to calamity, which was to come upon the nation, and (2) that even the immediate disciples of Jesus expected the future destruction of Jerusalem and the

temple, in consequence of this prophecy of Daniel. The word of the Lord, "whoso readeth let him understand," which refers to the obscurity and depth of Daniel's prediction (see *Dissertation*, p. 210 sqq.), are interpreted by *Wieseler* as an injunction to the disciples not to content themselves with the current exposition of Daniel's prophecy.

Let us now examine the arguments, which are brought against the Messianic interpretation.

1. Assuming the genuineness of these prophecies, it is affirmed that "we cannot possibly understand them, as fixing the time with exact precision, when the kingdom of heaven was to be set up or completed. For if the Redeemer declares, that such a knowledge of the future, with reference to the day and hour, is not possessed by either the angels of heaven or himself (Matt. xxiv. 36; Mark xiii. 32), and if he even repeats this after his resurrection, we cannot possibly suppose, that it was so clearly revealed to another prophet, and even to one of a much earlier period, that he was able to make such an announcement to his people with chronological accuracy, either in ordinary terms or according to a so-called mystical standard, that is, if the latter is to be regarded as definite in its character" (*Bleek* p. 234). In other words: "because Christ did not think it advisable, to give his disciples—who were eager for the reward before they had endured the conflict; who, without any right to do so, were asking after things, which were not suited to their present condition, and forgot to strive after the one thing needful, the birth from above; who were still carnal, and to whom the Lord had still many things to say, which they could not hear then;—because to these disciples the Lord refused to make known the time, when the kingdom of glory should be established, a revelation, which could only have operated injuriously, so far as existing circumstances were concerned, especially considering the distance at which the ultimate completion of salvation still lay, and the necessity, which at present existed, for the *foundation* of this kingdom to be kept prominently before the minds of the disciples:—therefore, God could not possibly have made any disclosures to a prophet of the Old Testament, as to the time when the kingdom of grace was

to be established; and even if there be a prophecy, which, when tested by all the laws of a sound exegesis, is found to fix the precise period, to the very year, and if no error can be pointed out, either in the exposition, or the chronology, it is nevertheless *a priori* certain, that it must be false." What right have we to take what is said of the kingdom of glory, and apply it, without reserve, to the kingdom of grace? And what right have we to interpret a refusal, which, even in connexion with the former, had respect simply to one particular period, as if it had been an unreserved and absolute refusal?[1] It is very apparent from Acts i. 7 and 8, that the reason why the disciples received such an answer, is to be found purely in their condition at the time. "It is not for you," says Christ, "to know the times and the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power; but ye shall receive power after that the Holy Ghost is come upon you." This is not what you stand in need of now, but something very different; and though God withholds the former, you will receive from Him the latter. The only turn that could be given to this argument, so as to make it plausible, would be the following: "If the Lord, who even in his state of humiliation was superior to all the prophets, speaks of definite revelations, as to the times and seasons at which future events would transpire, as beyond his own reach, whilst in this state; can God have communicated such revelations to any prophet whatever?" But, in this case, the argument would be equally directed against every other prophecy, in which definite chronological announcements are contained, and not only against those of the Old Testament, but against those of Christ himself, who foretold that he would rise again in three days, and, in fact, against all the prophecies, in which casual events are predicted. For what real difference is there, between fixing *a time* before hand, or making any other definite announcement? We are involved at once in further difficulties of the most serious kind. For how can we imagine one whole department of divine

[1] *Bengel* has given an admirable reply to those, who argue from these passages against the existence of any definite statements of time in the Book of Revelation, in both the Gnomon and the Ord. temp. p. 301. He writes among other things: "He does not say, no one *will know* but no one *knows*. He himself will know one day, and when he has learned the day and hour, it will be for him to communicate the knowledge, whenever and to whomsoever he please."

knowledge, as absolutely inacessible, even when this knowledge would assist his cause, to one who knew that the Father heard him *always* (John xi. 42), and to whom the Father showed all things that himself did (John v. 20). This passage and a number of others show that the following is the correct view of the Saviour's limited knowledge. In that state of humiliation, in which the divine nature of Christ was quiescent, if he required anything for the fulfilment of his vocation, which was beyond the reach of the powers and gifts of his human nature, he received it by direct communication from above, and asked for it in prayer. In himself, he neither possessed the power to work miracles, nor the power to foresee the future; but this power was never refused in answer to his petition, for such was the harmony of his will with that of God, that he could not ask anything, which it was not the design of God to give. From this it is evident that Christ's not knowing was simply the result of his not willing, and that the reason of his not willing was the want of fitness on the part of his disciples. Just in the same way might the Lord have replied to Satan, when he told him to turn the stones into bread, that he could not do it, without thereby prejudicing his miraculous power. But, if the want of knowledge on the part of Christ resulted from the unsuitableness of the knowledge asked for, both as concerned the persons and the time; what right have we to infer from this, that the Lord might not at some other time have communicated *suitable* revelations containing distinct chronological announcements of future events, first of all to his servants the prophets, and through them to his people? But the worthlessness of the argument is firmly established at the very outset, and without further inquiry. The things, which *Bleek* affirms that the passage cannot possibly contain, were found in it by the Lord of the church himself (Matt. xxiv. 15).[1]

[1] Compare *Sack's* remarks, with reference to this argument, in his *Apologetik* ed. 2, p. 333 sqq. He says: "Must then the divine in thought and word be always poetical, ideal, figurative, hyperbolical, and perhaps indistinct and vague? Is there something ungodly and profane in numbers? Do they not occupy a very important place in the divine economy, in the government of the world, in the perfect knowledge of him, with whom everything has its time and hour, and who, therefore, when he reveals himself, must communicate this to his servants the prophets in definite measure and with a distinct object? Even Abraham was told the number of the years, that his posterity would remain in Egypt."

2. Reference is also made to the "great resemblance between this prophecy, and those which are acknowledged to relate to Antiochus Epiphanes;" and from this it is argued, that the subject of the prophecy before us must be the same. *Hofmann* (p. 97) and *Wieseler* (p. 74) rely chiefly upon this. But the resemblance is, for the most part, caused by a misinterpretation. If we look, first of all, to the *substance* of the prophecies; the similarity is nothing more than this, that in both cases a foreign prince brings destruction upon the covenant-nation in consequence of its sins, and the sacrificial worship is suspended. This is really all. In the one case, the city and temple are irremediably destroyed; in the other, they are merely subjected to a severe visitation. According to one announcement the nation as such entirely perishes; according to the other, it is restored after a brief interval. The announcement, as to the anointed one the prince, and the glorious blessings to be brought by him, is peculiar to this prophecy. The most important point is supposed to be the perfect similarity in the chronological statements. The two thousand three hundred days, in chap. viii. 14, are said to correspond to the last week of years mentioned here; and the twelve hundred and ninety, and thirteen hundred and fifty-five days, to the half-week in chap. xii. 11, 12. But it is still a disputed point, whether the 2300 evening-mornings are to be understood as so many half-days (as *Hitzig* supposes), or whole days. If we suppose the latter, we shall then have six years and a quarter, not seven years; and whereas the one week mentioned here is described as the period, in which the covenant is to be confirmed, the two thousand three hundred evening-mornings represent the length of time, during which the visitation of the covenant-nation by the heathen tyrant continued. There is nothing about a *half*-week here, but only about the *middle* of the week.—So far as the *expressions* are concerned, the only point, which merits any attention, is the agreement between על כנף שקוצים משמם in ver. 27, and שמם in chap. viii. 13, השקוץ משמם in chap. xi. 31, and שקוץ שמם in chap. xii. 11. This agreement can hardly be accidental. In fact, as a rule, the recurrence of such rare, characteristic expressions points to a deeper connection, and is almost equivalent to

a distinct reference. And, according to our view, such a refe rence is very appropriate here. There was an intimate connectio between the Syrian destruction and the Roman, both in th guilt (שקוץ), and the judgment (שמם). (For the correct e: position of chap. viii. 13, xi. 31, xii. 11 see p. 108 sqq. an 133.)

3. "There is no other prophecy in the Book of Daniel, whic goes beyond the death of Antiochus Epiphanes." This is a assertion without foundation. If the fourth universal monarch in chap. ii. and vii. is the Roman, we have here the link of co nection with the prophecy before us. The announcement of th Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, in chap. vii. 1: leads us at once to expect, that we shall find, somewhere els a prediction of the first coming of Christ; especially when w consider the great prominence given to this announcement i the prophecies of Zechariah, who was nearly contemporaneou and in whom we discover so many points of resemblance.

4. *Wieseler* says (p. 83), "the Messianic interpretation evidently impossible, from the simple fact that there would i that case be no reference whatever in this passage to the oppre sion by Antiochus Epiphanes, which happened at this very tim and which is so prominent throughout the rest of the book But enough has been said on this subject elsewhere; and the was no necessity to allude to it here. The point, from whic this prophecy starts, is the aspect of the ruins of Jerusalen Its leading subject is the rebuilding of the city; and after th its destruction again, along with the circumstances, which occ sioned the latter.

THE PROPHET HAGGAI.

Haggai means the festal one. This is a good name for a prophet. The distinguishing characteristic of the festivals was an elevation of the religious consciousness. A festal man was one who was always in this state of mental elevation. The circumstances, under which Haggai first appeared, were the same as those which attended the appearance of Zechariah, and will be discussed more fully in connection with that prophet. His prophecies have all one design, viz., to expedite the building of the temple. It was not without a purpose, that the first discourse (chap. i.) was delivered on the first day of the month, that is, the feast of the new moon (*cf.* Num. xxviii. 11 ; 2 Kings iv. 23) ; inasmuch as the prophet was more likely to attract attention on a feast-day. And as the circumstances of the times were such as to call for repentance, he commences with *reproof*.[1] He contends against the prevailing indifference and selfishness, which had banished the thought of God from the mind, and points out how these bring their own punishment, inasmuch as those who

[1] The prophet's rebuke presupposes that, notwithstanding the obstacles which were thrown in the way by the Samaritans (Ezra iv. 1—5), no insuperable difficulty had presented itself to the erection of the temple between the first year of Cyrus and the second of Darius Hystaspes. If the erection had been prohibited by edicts of the Persian king, the leaders of the people would have been able to meet the charges brought by the prophet. The issue of any such edicts (which may be shown to be impossible, not only on the ground here stated, but also from the *third* address) would never have been assumed, had not the fact been overlooked that the paragraph in Ezra iv. 6—23 has no connection whatever with the building of the temple, but is an intercalated section, having reference to the building of the city walls.

take away from God what really belongs to Him will have their own taken from them as a just retribution. This address answered its purpose. Four and twenty days after its delivery, on the twenty-fourth day of the sixth month, in the second year of Darius, the works connected with the temple were re-commenced with zeal, under the superintendence of Zerubbabel and Joshua the High Priest.

But there soon arose a fresh occasion for Haggai's public appearance. When the work had sufficiently advanced for the people to be able to contrast the new temple with the former one, they were plunged in deep distress. The shout of joy, which was raised when the foundation was laid, was mingled with audible weeping, especially on the part of the old men, who had seen the glory of the first temple (see Ezra iii. 12). There appeared to be a glaring contrast between the promise and the reality. How glorious the former; how miserable the latter! According to Isaiah (see especially chap. lx.), Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, the new temple was to be infinitely superior in its glory to the old. And how did it look now? It was a nonentity in their eyes (chap. ii. 3). Gloomy thoughts now arose among the believers. Can this temple be the one which God promised? Are not the miserable circumstances in which we are placed an intimation from him that we are to abstain from the fruitless undertaking? Is it a right thing to build him a hut, instead of a temple? Whether he has entirely cast off his people on account of their sins, and altogether withdrawn his *conditional* promise, or intends to fulfil his promise, at some time or other in the remote future, for a worthier generation than we are, who still groan beneath his wrath, and are really in Babylon, though outwardly in Canaan,—he has at all events declared *us* unworthy of so great and holy a work, by the very circumstances in which we are placed.

In such a state of mind, *comfort* was the thing they needed; and Haggai was called by God to impart it. He discharged his commission, by addressing to them the discourse contained in chap. ii. 1—9, which was delivered on the 21st of the 7th month. He urges the people and their leaders to be of good courage; assuring them of the fact that the Lord is with them, and that

·ord, which he spoke to them at the very first, "fear not," ıues still in force.[1]

ıving thus re-opened the fountain of consolation for *every* of trouble, the prophet addresses himself especially to the ɛdiate cause of the despondency of the nation *on this occa-* its want of faith in God and his grace. They were not to · the small beginnings of the new temple to trouble them. would remove the obstacles which, so far as an eye of flesh l see, rendered it impossible that the glorious promises of arlier prophets, respecting the flocking of the Gentiles with heir gifts and possessions, should be fulfilled. He, the ighty, will shake the strong kingdoms of the earth, and ive them of the power which has made them, in their proud conceit, entirely forgetful of Him (vers. 6 and 7). Thus ıbled, the Gentiles will come with their possessions, to do age to the Lord, whose temple will now rise to lofty glory . 7). It cannot be otherwise, for God is the possessor of all hly things (ver. 8). And this glory will be so great, that ill far surpass that of the former temple, whilst it will also ccompanied with peace to the people of the Lord (ver. 9).

CHAP. II., VER. 6—9.

er. 6. "*For thus saith the Lord of Hosts, there is yet a little, I shake the heaven and the earth and the dry* (land)."

shows that we have here the reason for the exhortation "fear ' It is not without a reason that the expression, "thus ı the Lord of Hosts," is repeated five times in these four

'er. 5. "The word, which I concluded with you when ye came out of t and my spirit dwelt in the midst of you: fear not." (Lay this to , bear it in mind.) That this explanation (which is the one given by *d)* is correct, is evident from the fact that the words "fear not" are ı from Ex. xx. 17. This, therefore, must be the word which the Lord ed to them at the time of their exodus from Egypt. The Spirit of God is passage (as in Is. lxiii. 11) is the miraculous power of God, which was ayed in the Mosaic age in the midst, and for the good of the nation. By power the exhortation "fear not" was seconded then; and the same ır will give effect to it now. See Zech. iv. 6.

verses. The greater the impossibility of discovering even the smallest human prospect, the greater the necessity for laying emphasis upon the omnipotence of God.[1] In our explanation of the words עוֹד אַחַת מְעַט הִיא, we have followed the example of *Luther (es ist noch ein Kleines dahin)*, and *Calvin (adhuc unum hoc modicum)*. There can be no doubt of its grammatical correctness. It has been objected that the numeral is not used for the indefinite article in Hebrew, as it is in German. But, *in the first place*, there are not a few examples of the use of the word with a diminished force, though not to the same extent as in this passage, especially in the later period of the language, (see *Gesenius*, Thes. p. 61), and in Chaldee, חַד is very frequently used in this sense *(Thesaurus* p. 63); and *secondly*, אחת is not really used for the indefinite article in the passage before us. The meaning is not, a little, but *a* (one) little. The brevity of the time is rendered still more prominent by the addition of אחת; just as in Is. xvi. 14 מעט and כִּזְעָר are connected, so as to express the shortest possible time. We cannot exactly follow *Verschuir* (adhuc una haec temporis particula), and take מעט as a noun, according to its primary signification. It is only known in the language as an adverb; and there is the less necessity to render it otherwise, on account of the אחת, from the fact that even adverbs, which are proved by their form to have been always adverbs, are not infrequently construed as nouns, *e.g.* דְּמֵי חִנָּם, בְּיוֹמָם. There is quite as little difficulty, connected with אחת מעט, as with מְעַט מַיִם, מְחַתִּי מְעַט. It corresponds exactly to our expression *ein wenig*, a little, where the word little is still an adverb. Most of the earlier expositors take עוד אחת and מעט היא separately

[1] *Verschuir* has written a valuable commentary on this passage. This commentary was reprinted in the earlier collection of his Dissertations, p. 121 sqq.; and, notwithstanding the erroneous character of the main conclusion, viz. that our prophecy relates to the time of the Maccabees, and is only connected with the Messianic era, so far as it was typified by the former, and sundry other errors, it is after all the best, which has ever been written upon the passage. "God," he observes, "who speaks by our prophet, is introduced as the supreme ruler of the whole earth, the king of kings and emperor of emperors, as the bravest hero, possessed of the most numerous army, who would be, as it were, the torch and trumpet of wars, would excite them by his providence, and at the same time would overrule them, for the happiness and well-being of his people."

(adhuc semel idque brevi abhinc), in support of which they appeal to the *Septuagint* (ἔτι ἅπαξ), and the *Syriac* (yet *a* time), in which אחת is correctly rendered, but מעט is omitted altogether. *Frischmuth* and *Mieg* have taken the most trouble to defend this rendering, which has lately been revived by *Schmieder* (the former in his *de gloria templi secundi*, reprinted in the thes. ant. i., p. 994 sqq.; the latter in his *de desiderio gentium*, in the thes. nov., p. 1077 sqq.). אחת is certainly used sometimes, in the sense of *once*. But the fact, that עוד מעט is a standing phrase (*vid.* Ps. xxxvii. 10, Is. xxix. 17, Jer. li. 33), presents an insuperable obstacle to the two words being separated here).[1] If the prophet's intention was to write "*only* once more," the word *only* would hardly have been omitted; seeing that it would be just upon this word that the whole meaning rested. The use of *Vav*, as the connecting link with what follows, shows that והיא, which stands for the substantive verb, belongs to the whole of the foregoing clause, and not merely to a parenthesis.[2] The question arises, however, how far the notion of brevity is suitable here. The earlier commentators, who, for the most part, understood by the shaking of the heaven and the earth, the establishment of a new economy, the conclusion of a new covenant, were not a little perplexed with this question. They either referred to Ps. xc. 4 and 2 Pet. iii. 8, and spoke of the measure of time adopted here, as being not the human standard, but the divine, according to which a thousand years are as one day; or they maintained that the brevity was merely relative: "in comparison with another, much longer period, the time that

[1] The same objection may be brought against the rendering adopted by *Hitzig* and *Hofmann*, "one more, little is it," one more, only one period, which will not be subdivided into several. It would be altogether unparalleled, that *one* should stand for "*a* time," and that a time should be used without further explanation for a continued period.

[2] If we have given a correct exposition of ver. 5, there is certainly a reference to the Sinaitic legislation, as these commentators maintain ("as once, when the law was proclaimed from Mount Sinai with terrible thunders and lightnings, and all nature was shaken," *Michaelis*). The Lord will shake anew, but even in this case Israel need not fear. On the contrary, this shaking will contribute to the glory of the kingdom of God, by breaking the power of the heathen. Hence ἐτι ἅπαξ is correct, as far as the sense is concerned; but it is not necessary, that the reference to what transpired in olden times, which is so slightly indicated, should be made prominent in such a way as this: "there is yet a little, and I shake (anew)."

would elapse, previous to the foundation of the new economy, is described as short." But these can hardly be sustained. The former certainly cannot. For he who speaks to men, must speak according to human conceptions, or else state that he has not done so. The prophet lays stress upon the brevity of the time in this case, for the purpose of administering consolation. But only what is short in human estimation would be fitted to accomplish this. The second, also, is untenable. For he who speaks of time relatively, must mention with what the comparison is instituted. But there is no trace of anything of the kind in this passage, as the various conjectures of these commentators sufficiently prove. Moreover, what space of time could there be, of such a length, that another one of five hundred years could be described as "a little" in comparison? We are thus brought to the conclusion, that the explanation given to the words, "I shake the heavens and the earth," cannot be the correct one. There is no difficulty whatever connected with the correct exposition, namely, that reference is made to *the great political convulsions, by which the power of the Gentiles was to be broken and their pride humbled, and thus they were to be made capable of receiving salvation.* This shaking commenced immediately. The axe was already laid at the root of the Persian empire, whose subsequent and visible fall was but the manifestation of a far earlier one, which had been hidden from view. We have already noticed, in a general way, the idea which the earlier commentators usually associated with the shaking of the heaven, the earth, the sea and the dry land. They very properly supposed, as we have just observed, that allusion was made to the phenomena connected with the giving of the law, when Mount Sinai trembled violently. Compare the *historical* account in Ex. xix. 16—19, and the *poetical* description in Judges v. 4 sqq., "Lord, when thou wentest out of Seir, when thou marchedst out of the field of Edom, the earth trembled (רעשה)," &c. With this smaller shaking, the establishment of the Old Testament economy, the prophet is still further supposed to contrast the greater shaking, the establishment of the new Testament economy, when the heaven would be shaken as well as the earth. To the arguments already adduced in opposition to this explanation, and in support of the one already

mentioned, which we regard as the correct one, and which *Verschuir* was the first to demonstrate thoroughly, we may add the following. 1. The same words occur again in chap. ii. 21; and, with the evident connection between the two passages, we may find in the latter a test of the correctness of any exposition of the former. In ver. 22, "and I overthrow the throne of the kingdoms, and destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen, and overthrow the war chariots and their warriors, and horses and their riders fall, man by the sword of his brother," we have an *explanation* of ver. 21. It shows that the shaking of the heavens and the earth, mentioned in ver. 21, refers to great changes, to be brought about by the omnipotence of God in the state of the nations, to bloody wars, by which he would throw down from the summit of their power those who proudly exalted themselves against him, and generally to the coming of the day of the Lord upon everything high and exalted, of which we have a description in Is. ii. In ver. 23, "in that day, saith the Lord of Hosts, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, and will make thee as a signet-ring, for I have chosen thee, saith the Lord of Hosts," we have a confirmation of the result, which we have already obtained from the words, "there is yet a little," namely, that the shaking of the heaven and the earth cannot be regarded as something connected with a far distant future alone. The leading idea is God's affectionate care of his people amidst all the great changes, which he was about to bring to pass in the world, and which, just because they were not accidental, but overruled by him, would have for their object the elevation of his people and kingdom, and could not possibly injure them; so that they might look in peace and comfort upon the destruction and dissolution, which were taking place on the earth, convinced that they were only the throes of a better world. And, although Zerubbabel is introduced here, on account of his office, rather than his person; although the promise is made through him to the people;[1] and although it extends far beyond the life of Zerubbabel, and has no actual limits in time; yet the very

[1] "God addresses Zerubbabel, that he may show, in his person, that he is about to bless the people, whom he has determined to gather together under that sacred head. . . . . For, although Zerubbabel did not obtain possession of the kingdom; yet God determined that a spark, as it were, of that

fact, that Zerubbabel is selected as the representative of the nation,—with especial reference to the fears, which agitated both Zerubbabel himself, and the rest of that generation, from their consciousness of weakness, which seemed sure to succumb to even the slightest opposition,—this fact, we say, is a proof that the reference in this passage cannot be to something absolutely remote, but only to something, which actually commenced in the age in which the promise was given, though it might also extend through all ages, and be merely continued in the blessings promised by Christ, that "he would be with his people always even to the end of the world," and that "the gates of hell should not prevail against his church."—2. The opening words of the next verse, "and I shake *all the heathen*," are at variance with the supposed reference to the establishment of a new economy. The commentators, already referred to, maintain that the shaking in this case is different from that mentioned in the previous verse, and denotes the agitation of mind, which would be excited among the heathen by the Spirit of God after the founding of the new economy.[1] To *Verschuir* belongs the honour of having been the first to call attention to the fact, that these words are not connected with a description of salvation itself, but merely of events which *prepared* the way.[2] There

kingdom should appear, which he had set up in the family of David. . . . In fine, God showed that it had pleased him, that the nation should be gathered together under one head, because Christ would at length spring from the seed of Zerubbabel" *(Calvin)*. See Zech., chap. iv. The announcement points back to Jer. xxii. 24, "though Coniah, the son of Jehoiakim, king of Judah, were the signet upon my right hand, yet would I pluck thee thence," and shows, that this prophecy is only temporary in its character, that it cannot annihilate the promise, which was given to the family of David, and through that family to the nation, but that in future this promise will recover its force again. The signet ring, which is greatly prized and carefully preserved, and with which a man does not part, is a characteristic emblem of the family of David in its relation to God.

[1] This was the explanation given by the Jewish expositors, *e.g.*, *Kimchi* (inclinabo corda eorum, ut loco suo se moveant ad veniendum et videndum gloriam hanc et suismet manibus afferant aurum et argentum), *Jarchi* and *Abenezra*. *Calvin* also explains the shaking as "the inward movement, by which God impels the elect to enter the fold of Christ." *Michaelis* paraphrases the passage thus, "I will move them by the sound of the gospel to repentance and faith."

[2] "The section before us is divisible into two leading parts, of which the one describes the events, which would precede the state of perfect happiness and glory, and be instrumental in bringing it about (ver. 6 and 7); whilst the other embraces the state of perfect prosperity itself."

can be no doubt whatever, that this is the correct view. The word וְרִעַשְׁתִּי itself indicates, not gentle internal emotions, but violent agitations; and there is the greater reason for believing this to be the meaning, because the word occurs in this sense immediately before, and it cannot be supposed that the same word, which is evidently chosen with intention, is used here in an entirely different sense. But if we compare ver. 22, no further doubt can possibly remain. The words, "I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms and will destroy the strength of the kingdoms of the heathen," stand in precisely the same relation to the shaking of the heavens and the earth, as the words "and I shake all the heathen," in the verse before us. We are fully warranted in explaining the latter clause from the former. But if there can be no doubt that, by the shaking of the *heathen*, we are to understand the breaking up of the foundations of their kingdoms, the dissolution of their power; the shaking *of the heaven and the earth* must mean the same thing. 3. In addition to this, the image itself is a natural one, only when it is understood as referring to violent political convulsions. *Storms* and *earthquakes* do not represent the omnipotence of God in general; they are the natural symbols of his omnipotence *to destroy*, and they were regarded in this light, even by the nations of antiquity. Earthquakes were looked upon, as the omens of approaching destruction.[1] Just as the manifestation of the destructive power of God in inanimate nature excites a foreboding, even in the rudest minds, that the same destructive power will also be put forth in the affairs of men; and just as we see in every earthquake, to some extent, a real prophecy of the judgments of God on men; so, on the other hand, where these judgments have been inflicted, where grievous confusion and calamity prevail on every side, to the alarmed and

[1] Compare, for example, the remarkable passage in *Herodotus* (vi. 98), from which it is evident that he shared the opinion of the people in this respect: *Δῆλος ἐκινήθη, ὡς ἔλεγον οἱ Δήλιοι, καὶ πρῶτα καὶ ὕστατα μέχρι ἐμεῦ σεισθεῖσα. Καὶ τοῦτο μέν κου τέρας ἀνθρώποισι τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι κακῶν ἔφηνε ὁ θεός. Ἐπὶ γὰρ Δαρείου τοῦ Ὑστάσπεος καὶ Ξέρξεω τοῦ Δαρείου καὶ Ἀρταξέρξεω, τοῦ Ξέρξεω, τριῶν τουτέων ἐπεξῆς γενεέων, ἐγένετο πλέω κακὰ τῇ Ἑλλάδι, ἢ ἐπὶ εἴκοσι, ἄλλας γενεὰς τὰς πρὸ Δαρείου γενομένας. . . . οὕτω οὐδὲν ἦν ἀσεικὲς κινηθῆναι Δῆλον, τὸ πρὶν ἐοῦσαν ἀκίνητον*; see also chap. iv. 28, Thucydides ii. 8, and Justin xl. 2.

anxious man even external nature appears to be dissolvir
feels as if heaven and earth were breaking up. This will e
how it is, that the manifestations of God's destructive po
the natural world, as for example in storms and earthq
are so often employed in Scripture, to represent the mar
tions of the same destructive power in history. An exar
this we have in the 18th Psalm, where the description of a
is introduced, to show the fearful destruction, which
pended by God over the Psalmist's foes. And again in I
13, where the vision of the destruction overhanging Bab
widened into the vision of a judgment on the whole ea
which the former was a type and offshoot, and, at the sam
an actual prediction. "Therefore," says the Lord, "I wil
the heavens, and the earth shall remove out of her place,
wrath of the Lord of hosts, and in the day of his fierce
And, again, in Ps. lx. 2, where great misfortunes, whi
befallen the covenant-people, are represented under the ir
an earthquake, by which great clefts had been made
earth: "thou hast made the earth to tremble, thou hast
it: heal the breaches, for it shaketh." Even in the poeti
of the first Book of Maccabees, we find in chap. i. 28 the
sufferings, with which the covenant-people had been
represented as a literal earthquake, "the earth was sha
the inhabitants thereof." (See the Commentary on Rev.

Having thus determined the general meaning, we mu
into the subject somewhat more closely to ascertain, if p
the thought which lies at the foundation of this announc

Had the prophet simply predicted, without further e
tion, the glorification of the kingdom of God by the floc
the heathen into it, with all their possessions and gifts, l
phecy would have met with little acceptance. The c
were too glaring; on the one side poor, miserable, despise
which was at that very time engaged in building a wretc
for its God, instead of a splendid temple, and even for t
obtained permission with difficulty from its heathen rul
the other side, heathenism in the bloom of its strength
pride, on account of its own power, and the power of its
and scarcely deigning to look at Israel and its God. These c
could only be softened down, in a supernatural way, by

of heaven, who bringeth down the mighty, and raiseth the humble and miserable out of the dust. The prophet directs the attention of the people to his preparatory movements. He is about to shake the might of the heathen, and bring down all their pride.

If we fix our attention exclusively upon this shaking, our prophecy is parallel to that of Daniel, concerning the four kingdoms, which were to be destroyed by the omnipotence of God, and in whose place a fifth kingdom was to arise, the kingdom of the people of the Lord. Both were equally consolatory to the covenant nation. However the power of this world might exalt itself, they knew that there was a worm, gnawing secretly at the root. The transference of power from one nation to another invariably revived their hopes. They saw in this, the positive proof of the nothingness and perishable nature of all earthly things; from it they learned, that the things of earth did not stand in their way like an indestructible wall of brass; and they might indulge the hope, that, when these changes had run their course, the power of man, so far as it presented a contrast to the Kingdom of God, would ultimately cease to exist.

But there is one peculiarity which distinguishes the prophecy before us from that of Daniel. Not only is the forcible destruction of the power of man, by the interposition of God, presented to our notice here, but a moral effect is mentioned, which this destruction will produce, even upon those who are thus destroyed. The heathen, who have been "shaken," come *of their own accord*, and consecrate themselves, and all they have, to the Lord. To effect this is the design of the shaking; the highest object, which God sets before him, in his superintendence of the events of the world.

How far were the means adapted to promote the end? This question must be answered from the whole biblical view of the economy of sufferings. The Bible teaches that, in consequence of the corruption of human nature, the possession of the good things of this world brings with it the danger of their being abused, of the heart being set upon them and trusting in them, and of a high-minded contempt of God; and, in many cases, this danger can only be averted by God himself taking the possessions away. This view has stamped itself even upon the *language* of Scripture. Just as each individual must enter the

Kingdom of God through tribulation, and only he who sows in tears can reap with joy, so is it, also, with whole nations. The historians and prophets describe, on every page, how constantly Israel was *shaken*, that its beauty might come to the Lord. "In their affliction they will seek me early" (Hos. v. 15); this is the key note, which runs through them all. And it is always after God has smitten Israel that it turns to him and seeks to be healed (vid. Is. xxvi. 16, vol. i. p. 516). The application of this fundamental view, of the effect of suffering upon the nature of man, to the treatment of the heathen on the part of God, is hinted at on every hand. But it occurs with the greatest frequency and distinctness in Isaiah, from whom we quote some passages, which are in all respects to be regarded as parallel to our own. The fact that in Isaiah one or more nations are singled out, whereas here *all* the heathen are referred to, makes no real difference; for the special announcement in Isaiah is evidently an emanation from the general idea, which the prophet merely applies to some one nation in particular, because it is with that alone that he has to do. In chap. xix. 1—15 the prophet describes the judgment of the Lord on Egypt; and in ver. 16 sqq. the manner in which this judgment will issue in its humiliation and salvation. The congregation of the Lord, which it formerly despised, becomes an object of its veneration. Altars are erected in the land of Egypt, and the three nations of Egypt, Israel, and Assyria, the last of which had arrived at the same knowledge through the same humiliation, unite together to form one covenant-nation and brotherhood, and serve the Lord together;—just as in Amos ix. 12, the remnant of Edom, the portion which had been spared amidst the judgments of God unites with the covenant-nation, and is admitted into it by the Lord. We find the same idea at the close of the prophecy against the Egyptians and Cushites in chap. xviii; and also at the end of the prophecy against Tyre, chap. xxiii. 17, 18. After a period of suffering Tyre flourishes again through the grace of God; but this time her acquisitions are devoted to the Lord.

In what relation does the idea stand to history, when presented in the general form in which it is expressed in this passage? So much is evident, that no shaking can come into consideration here, except so far as the coming of the heathen is either asso-

ciated with it, or a consequence of it. For this reason we must reject such explanations as that of *Verschuir*, who places the principal fulfilment in the time of the Maccabees, and also the manifestly insipid notion of *Drusius*, who talks about an earthquake during the reign of Herod. We cannot even assume that the prophecy reached no farther than the first coming of Christ. On the contrary its fulfilment must go on as long as the opposition lasts between the earthly power and the Kingdom of the Lord on the earth; that is, till the entrance of the kingdom of glory.

All the dealings of God with the nations have for their ultimate object, the establishment and advance of the kingdom of God. With a firm hand he guides the affairs of the world, century after century, towards this final issue. Where the eye of flesh sees only chance, and where that of faith discerns only the punitive justice of God, to which exclusive reference is made in so many of the other prophecies, and which is certainly not to be excluded here; there, does the prophecy before us open all at once a view of the secret operations of the mercy of God, which smites only to heal, in the case of the heathen as much as of the covenant-people, and which, even where absolute annihilation appears to have taken place, as in the case of Sodom and Gomorrha, causes life to come forth from death (see Ezek. xvi. 55), and only casts entirely away when *every* method of severity and love has been resorted to in vain.

We now proceed to examine in what way the idea was realised previous to the first coming of Christ. Here the shakings of the heathen followed closely one upon another. How thoroughly the power of Persia had been undermined was soon brought to light, in the invasion of Greece by Xerxes, the successor of Darius. It could easily be foreseen then that its days were numbered; and in the rapid conquests of Alexander these anticipations were fulfilled. And his power also, which seemed destined to be eternal, succumbed to the fate of everything temporal. *Livy* says: "inde morte Alexandri distractum in multa regna, dum ad se quisque opes rapiunt lacerantes viribus, a summo culmine fortunae ad ultimum finem centum quinquaginta annos stetit." The two most powerful of the kingdoms, which arose out of the empire of Alexander, the Syrian and

Egyptian, destroyed each other. The Romans now attained universal dominion, but at the very time when they seemed have reached the summit of their greatness, the "shaking" h proceeded to a very considerable extent.

Let us imagine Christ appearing at the time, when any c of these empires was in the vigour of its youth. Would he ha been likely to find an entrance? Quite as little, we may sure, among the Persians, when intoxicated with their victori as among the victorious Greeks or the old iron Romans. F now, a sense of the nothingness and perishable character everything earthly, and a longing for imperishable, heave possessions, and for a fixed and immoveable heavenly kingdo had spread far and wide through the countries of the earth; a the strength of this feeling may be gathered from the fact, t there were many who sought this kingdom, even in the imperf form, in which it then existed,—a small beginning of the promi accession of the heathen,—and that whilst some merely sou in it external support, others were received into it altogether.

All that remains to be done, is to look at the one passage the New Testament, in which this prophecy is quoted, viz., H xii. 26 sqq.

In the 25th verse of this chapter, the author urges those wh he is addressing, not to reject the perfect revelation of God Christ, and so expose themselves to a much severer punishm than was inflicted upon those, who hardened themselves agai a less perfect revelation of God under the Old Testament. T superior dignity of the former he demonstrates in ver. 26, fr the fact that only a comparatively small shaking took place the founding of the Old Covenant (as a sign of the dominion God over creation, and of the destructive power, which he exer over it, Mount Sinai had been shaken then), whereas an infinit greater shaking had been predicted in connection with the N Testament times, a shaking, which should embrace not only t *whole* earth, but the heavens also. The meaning of the shaki referred to in the prophecy of Haggai,—the words of which represents as having been spoken by God, at the commencem of the period alluded to in the prophecy (see a similar case chap. x. 5),—is explained in ver. 27 as follows: "and this o more signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken,

of things that are made, that the things which are not shaken may remain." Many mistakes have been made here, in consequence of its being generally supposed (although *Calvin* gave the correct explanation),[1] that the emphasis rested exclusively upon the words "once more,[2] whereas the author takes no further notice of these words, to which we might add, "and so forth," but merely explains the rest of the sentence, "I shake not the earth only," &c. The word ἵνα has also been incorrectly rendered ecbatically, "*so* that that which is not moveable remains," instead of "*in order that* that which is not moveable may remain." That the things which are not moveable should remain, is the design of the removal of those things which are; and their continuance, therefore, must necessarily present an irreconcileable contradiction to the establishment of the immoveable. From these remarks it will be evident, that what the author describes as the fundamental idea of this expression, and what we have already discovered to be so, perfectly agree. Every created thing, so far as it is opposed to the kingdom of God, must be shaken and laid in ruins, that this kingdom may continue to stand. "How great and glorious then," is the writer's inference in ver. 28, "must be this kingdom which cannot be moved!" How earnestly should those, whom God has admitted into it, strive to lay fast hold of grace and serve God acceptably! How should their walk be marked by fear! For, just as the grace, bestowed upon them, infinitely surpasses that which preceded it; so is their God, infinitely more than the God of the Old Testament (Deut. iv. 24), a consuming fire.—It is the same divine energy, which shakes the kingdoms of this world for the good of the kingdom of God, and which at the end of time will destroy this world itself, the fashion of which passes away (see 1 Cor. vii. 31),—destroy it, that is, so far as it is impregnated with sin and evil,

[1] "The apostle lays no stress upon the word ἅπαξ. He merely infers, from the shaking of the heaven and the earth, that the condition of the whole world was to be changed by the coming of Christ."

[2] This is the opinion of *Tholuck* and *Bleek*. The expression "once more" in the Septuagint is supposed to have been used by the author in the sense of "*only* once more," *i.e.* for the last time; and thus, he is made to introduce into the text, without any warrant, the very word, upon which the whole argument depends. The correct plan, on the contrary, is to assume that the emphasis cannot rest upon ἔτι ἅπαξ, seeing that it does not answer the evident purpose of the author, when explained in a simple manner.

and therefore unfit to be the scene of God's glorified kingdom. Hence, the prophecy and its application are closely allied to those passages, in which the creation of a new heaven and new earth is predicted (Is. lxv. 17; lxvi. 22); and of the fulfilment of which both the prelude and commencement were, and still are to be found, in the shaking of the heathen and their kingdoms. For this renewal contains the germ and beginning of the events, which will take place at the end of days.—These remarks will serve to explain the striking agreement between the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, which is founded upon Haggai, and that in 2 Pet. iii. 10 sqq., which rests upon Isaiah.

Ver. 7. "*And I shake all the heathen, and the beauty of all the heathen cometh, and I fill this house with glory, saith the Lord of Hosts.*"

The Vulgate rendering of חֶמְדַּת גּוֹיִם (*et veniet desideratus gentibus*) has been so generally followed, and the belief, that the expression refers to the Messiah, has become so prevalent in consequence, that *Chladenius* (dissert. ad hunc locum) was able to describe it as "communis fere omnium interpretum ac firmissima sententia." "The desire of the nations" has taken so deep a root, through the practical application that has been made of it, in sermons, hymns, &c., that commentators for the most part have shrunk from the thought of giving up an explanation, which had become endeared to them, before they brought their learning to bear upon the passage at all. Of the earlier commentators, *Calvin* has pointed out with the greatest distinctness the untenable character of this rendering; and the following reasons suffice to prove, that it cannot be sustained. 1. The plural בָּאוּ leaves no room for it.[1]—2. חֶמְדַּת is taken in a sense

[1] *F. Ribera* says, "I have a strong suspicion, that this passage has been corrupted by the later Jews, who were hard pressed by its weight and force." *Raimund Martini* supposes the plural to refer to the two natures of Christ. *Chladenius* says: "when that comes, which is desired by many, in fact by all,—without doubt it is equivalent to the advent of many." But by far the greater number, from *Frischmuth* down to *Scheibel*, appeal to the rule laid down by *Glassius*, "when two substantives stand together, of which the one is governed by the other, the verb sometimes agrees in number with the latter of the two, even when it really belongs to the former." But the rule is expressed too vaguely; and when we introduce the necessary limitation, it is apparent at once, that it has nothing to do with the case before us. It can only apply to a *constructio ad sensum*; and in the only circumstances in

in which it never occurs; although the lexicons give this as the leading and primary meaning. Neither the masculine חֶמֶד, nor the feminine חמדה, is ever used with the meaning "wish, desire," although, from their derivation, they would certainly bear such a sense; but they invariably mean "beauty," τὸ κάλλος, and the word occurs so frequently, that we are fully warranted in drawing a conclusion, as to the general usage of the language, from the examples which we have before us.[1] The only admis-

which this occurs, the word, which occupies the leading place in the *grammatical* construction, is merely a subordinate term, so far as the *sense* is concerned. All the examples, which are given, do really come under this category. But it is very evident, that the passage before us does not. *Coccius*, and those who follow him, have been most successful, in their attempt to get rid of the difficulty, caused by the plural verb. They render חֶמְדַּת as an accusative,—a construction which is frequently adopted with verbs of motion,—"and they will come to the desire of all nations, namely, to Christ; that is, they will draw near to him, who is given to the nations, and will love him."

[1] In a whole series of passages the meaning "beauty" is indisputable and uncontested; for example, in all those, in which the כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּה, the "vessels of beauty," or "beautiful, costly vessels" are mentioned. And again in Jer. iii. 19, where אֶרֶץ חֶמְדָּה, "the land of beauty," occurs as a parallel to נַחֲלַת צְבִי, "the inheritance of ornament." In Is. ii. 16, the day of the Lord is said to come upon all the ships of Tarshish, and upon all "the sights of beauty," שְׂכִיּוֹת הַחֶמְדָּה, *i.e.* upon everything, which is beautiful to look at;—in the *Septuagint*, where the word is never rendered "desire," the passage is translated ἐπὶ πᾶσαν θεὰν πλοίων (this word is a false exegetical emendation) κάλλους, in the *Vulgate*, "*Super omne, quod visu pulchrum est.*" In Ezek. xxvi. 12, we find, "they will destroy בָּתֵּי חֶמְדָּתֵךְ, thy beautiful houses," just as in Jer. xii. 10, חֶלְקַת חֶמְדָּתִי, "my beautiful inheritance;" Is. xxxii. 12, שְׂדֵי חֶמֶד, "beautiful fields;" Amos v. 11, כַּרְמֵי חֶמֶד "beautiful vineyards;" and Ezek. xxiii. 6, בָּחוּרֵי חֶמֶד "beautiful youths." There are only two passages left, which, according to the current exposition, support the rendering "wish, desire," but in which the ordinary meaning can, and must be retained. The first of these is 2 Chr. xxi. 20, "and he departed (died) בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה, and they buried him in the city of David, and not in the sepulchres of the kings." In this case the commentators for the most part adopt the rendering "nec ullum sui desiderium reliquit." But even if חֶמְדָּה could have the meaning "desire," this rendering would have to be rejected, on account of its harshness. "Without desire," for "without any one wishing for him" might do very well in poetry, but not in plain prose. The meaning is rather "without loveliness" (Schöne, beauty; LXX. οὐκ ἐν ἐπαινῳ); and what follows, namely, that he was not buried in the sepulchres of the kings, is to be regarded as an illustration of this want of beauty;

sible rendering, therefore, is "the beauty of all the heathen." But in what sense this expression could be applied to the Messiah, it would be very difficult to show.—3. The *context* does not favour the conclusion, that the Messiah is referred to. The "shaking of the heathen" had been promised immediately before as the means by which God would remove the hindrances, which had hitherto prevented their approach to his kingdom. And we naturally expect to find this followed by an announcement of their coming, with all their gifts and possessions; especially as this was the main point of the whole prophecy, and the anticipation of such an issue was to soothe the trouble of the people, on account of the miserable condition in which the house of God *then was*. But, instead of this, the announcement of the Messiah is said to be introduced without any preparation, and in a thoroughly unconnected manner. In this case, then, the words, "and I fill this house with glory," can also not be referred to the gifts and possessions of the heathen; for the question, which constitutes the glory, of which there may be many kinds, can only be answered by a reference to what goes before. And if so, it is impossible to understand the 8th verse, "the silver and the gold are mine."[1]

to which has also to be added the fact, that there was no mourning on the part of the people, no solemn funeral rites, or honourable memorial. The worst form of death בְּלֹא חֲמֻדָה, is that threatened by Jeremiah, "an ass's burial," or that predicted by Isaiah respecting the king of Babylon to be "cast out, as a carcase trodden under foot."—The second passage is Dan. xi. 37: "neither shall he regard the God of his fathers, nor חֶמְדַּת נָשִׁים, nor regard any god, for he shall magnify himself above all." In this passage, according to *Gesenius*, *Hävernick*, and others, we are to understand, by the wish or desire of women, the Anaitis or Mylitta. But there is no ground whatever, for having recourse to so far-fetched an explanation. The older rendering, "the beauty of women," suits the passage admirably. What better description could be given of that *cold* avarice, which follows its one object with a fixed eye, unaffected by any of the softer and warmer emotions of religion or of love, which makes itself into a god, and whose heart is only to be found where its treasure already is? How closely these two are associated, reverence for God, and esteem for the beauty of women, however distinct they may appear, is apparent from the connexion, which may be traced throughout all history between religion and love, between the impure forms of the two on the one hand, and the pure manifestations of the two on the other.

[1] In this case, we should be compelled to resort to such evidently heterogeneous expositions, as that of *Frischmuth* and most of the earlier commentators: "if I wished to adorn the temple with costly furniture, I could easily supply you with it, for all the silver and gold are mine," where God is represented as quieting the minds of those, who were pained by the contrast

Look, too, at the connexion between the words, "and I fill this *house* with glory," and the third verse, "who is left among you *that* saw this house in its *first glory?* and how do you see it *now?* is it not as a nonentity in your eyes?" From this allusion it is evident that the *glory* referred to in this passage must be the same as that which distinguished the magnificent temple of Solomon, and whose absence was now the cause of the nation's lamentations. And if this be the case, as we have already said, the words, which stand immediately before, cannot but justify us in thinking of this particular kind of glory.

There are differences of opinion, again, among those who do not admit the reference to the person of the Messiah. If we set aside such explanations, as are evidently philologically incorrect, for example that of *Kimchi*, who would supply the preposition ב before חמדת, "they, the heathen, come with the possessions of all the heathen;" that of others (*Verschuir* for instance), who give to חמדה the meaning, which we have already proved to be false, "they come to the desire of all the heathen, in other words, to Jerusalem;" and that of *Ewald*, "there come the longing, that is the nations most longed for,[1]"—there remain only two, between which to choose. The beauty of the heathen nations may mean either "the beautiful ones among them," the most eminent and excellent—(this is *Rückert's* explanation, "and they come, the *élite* of all nations;" he takes no notice of the accents, and without any grammatical necessity separates באו from חמדת)—or, "whatever the heathen have, that is beautiful, all their valuable possessions." The latter is the earliest of all existing explanations. It is to be found in the *Septuagint*: καὶ ἥξει τὰ ἐκλεκτά πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν. The *Syriac* also has it: et excitaturus sum omnes gentes, ut afferant optatissimam quamque rem cunctarum gentium.

between the promise and what they actually saw, by simply recalling what he had formerly predicted, namely in Is. lx., and declaring the very thing to be *no* good at all, which he himself had promised as a good before. *Calvin's* sound mind could not be brought to assent to this. He observes: "as it is immediately added, the silver and the gold are mine; the sense which I have already given, will on that account be the more simple, viz, that the Gentiles would come, furnished with wealth of every kind, that they might offer themselves and all their possessions as a sacrifice to God."

[1] This is the explanation which he gives, when commenting upon the prophecy. In his Grammar, § 307 b. he gives the rendering "desire, that is, valuables."

The following reasons induce us to give the preference to the latter of the two. 1. What we have already said under No. 3, against referring the expression to the Messiah, is also to some extent applicable here. In other places, the fact that the heathen themselves shall come, is promised to the congregation of the Lord, as its greatest glory. But, in this case, where the promise is made with direct reference to circumstances of a peculiar nature, this could not be so appropriate, as it is elsewhere. It might, indeed, be said that, if it was certain that the heathen would come, since gifts are the usual tokens of homage, their possessions would be sure to follow. But the one point of special importance is not left for the reader to gather by inference merely, but is expressed as distinctly as possible. And thus in the case before us, it is more appropriate that the coming of the heathen themselves should be inferred from the coming of their possessions, seeing that what is the principle point in other cases is subordinate here; than that the coming of their possessions should be deduced from the fact that they would come themselves. There was all the greater reason for this, on account of the stress laid upon the coming of the possessions, in that passage of Isaiah (chap. lx.) which presented to the view of the people a scene so different from that which actually met their eye, as to have given rise to all their despondency. Compare, for example, verse 9: "surely the isles shall wait for me and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them, unto the name of the Lord thy God, and to the Holy One of Israel, because he hath glorified thee."—2. In the very passage, which the prophet had in his mind at the time, we find something, which answers exactly to the חמדת כל־הגוים, as we understand it; and may therefore justly assume, that it was to this that Haggai especially referred. In Is. lx. 5 it is said, "the riches of the sea shall come unto thee, חֵיל גּוֹיִם יִבְאוּ לָךְ, the force of the heathen shall come to thee," and in ver. 11, "therefore thy gates shall be open continually, they shall not be shut day nor night, to bring to thee the force of the heathen, חֵיל גּוֹיִם, and their kings shall be brought." It is true that we find just the same differences in the expositions of these passages. Some explain the force of the heathen as meaning

"*the* army, the hosts of the heathen;" in which case both passages would refer to *persons*. But it is evident from the parallel passages that by the *force* in this case we are to understand the *possessions*; thus in chap. x. 14 we find, "My hand hath found as a nest the *force* of the nations;" chap. lxi. 6, "ye shall eat the *force* of the heathen;" Micah iv. 13, "and thou consecratest to the Lord their *gain*, and their strength to the Lord of the whole earth;" see also Zech. xiv. 14. Just as Isaiah lays stress upon the possessions, whilst the persons are implied,[1] so is it with Haggai, whose prophecy is based upon his. By bringing forward these references, we do away with the objection to our exposition, which might be founded upon *Ewald's* remark in § 307 b., to the effect that it is only a *common* thing for a noun in the singular to be connected with one in the plural, when the nouns relate to distinct self-acting objects, especially to persons, whilst it is a *rare* thing, in cases where there is an abstract noun, referring to objects without life. To this the general answer may be given, that in the Scriptures the distinction between things with life and things without life is by no means so marked, as it is with us,—particularly in the case of the sacred psalmist and prophets, who attribute motion even to the most immoveable objects. The same references also overthrow *Scheibel's* thoroughly trivial objection: "quis sanus possit vertere, pretiosa venient?" If Isaiah describes the *strength* of the heathen as coming, why should not Haggai the beauty?—3. It is very questionable, whether the beauty of the heathen could stand for the most beautiful, or most eminent among them? At any rate there is no parallel passage with any such meaning as this? A comparison of Ezek. xxiii. 6, and other passages, will show, that the proper expression would rather be כָּל־גּוֹי־הַחֲמֻדָּה. Besides, what could we understand by the *beautiful* heathen? Would it mean the richest, or most powerful; just as we find, in other descriptions of a similar character, particular nations singled out, *e.g.* Ps. lxxii. 10, "the kings of Tarshish and the isles shall bring presents, the kings of Sheba and Seba shall offer gifts?" But in this case, the kind of beauty would be more particularly pointed out. On

[1] *Vitringa:* propheta opes facultatesque hic spectari non vult absque hominibus eas apportaturis, ut ex seq. contextu liquet, qui proin synecdochice hic intelliguntur"

the other hand, there is a passage in 1 Sam. ix. 20, in whi חמדה occurs in a sense perfectly analogous to that in which *it* used here, according to our interpretation. Samuel says t Saul: "as for thine asses, that were lost three days ago, troubl not about them, for they are found; and to whom is all th beauty of Israel, כָּל־חֶמְדַּת יִשְׂרָאֵל, is it not to thee and to al thy father's house?" The same connexion between *glory* and *beauty*, we find in Nahum ii. 10, "take ye the spoil of silver take the spoil of gold, and there is no end to the store; glor comes through all the vessels of beauty כָּבוֹד מִכֹּל כְּלֵי חֶמְדָּה."

The concluding words of the verse, "and I fill this house wit glory," are supposed by most commentators to denote the glorifi cation of the temple by the appearance of the Messiah; *Aba banel* and *Hasäus (Schulz.* praes. Has. de glor. templi secun Bremen 1724) refer it to the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, ar appeal to Ex. xl. 34 and 35, 2 Chr. v. 13, 14, 1 Kings viii. 1 11, and Ezek. xliii. 4, where almost the same words are used, connection with the residence of God in the tabernacle, t temple of Solomon, and the new spiritual temple.

It can hardly be imagined that this agreement is purely ac dental. Still less, however, can the conclusion be drawn fro it, which these writers suppose. The essential difference betwe the passages is sufficient proof of this. In the other cases particular kind of glory is referred to, the glory of *God*, and t manifestation of that glory; but here it is glory in general, th is mentioned, כבוד without either article or suffix. We a compelled, therefore, to look to what goes before, to ascerta what this glory really is. It consists in the coming of the beau of all the heathen, to glorify and adorn the temple of the Lor just it is said in Is. lx. 13: "the glory of Lebanon shall con to thee . . . to beautify the place of my sanctuary, and will make the place of my feet glorious." This is confirmed b the words, "the silver is mine, and the gold is mine," in th next verse, and also by ver. 9, where the predicted superiori of the glory of the second temple to that of the first can on relate, as ver. 3 shows, to the particular thing which distinguishe the first temple, and was so painfully missed in the second. B it does not follow, from what we have said, that there is not very important connexion between this passage, and the othe

that have been named. The same God, who formerly condescended to give to the temple its greatest ornament, by communicating his own glory, will also fill this one with glory by the coming of the beauty of the heathen. At the same time, the communication of this fresh glory presupposes the restoration of the former in a much higher degree. For why do the heathen come with their beauty? For no other reason than because they perceive that God dwells in the midst of his people.

We must now turn to another objection, which has been brought by *Chladenius* and most of the earlier commentators, against the whole of the interpretation which we have adopted as our own, viz. that "silver and gold are too mean and insignificant to be mentioned in such a connexion as this."[1] The answer which first suggests itself is this, if it was proper for Isaiah to prophecy of such things, as he undoubtedly has done, and in a very lofty strain, why not for Haggai? By this answer so much at least is gained, that those, who have brought forward the problem as one which we alone had to solve, must now take part with us in seeking a solution. Nor is it difficult to find one. It presents itself at once, if we know how to distinguish between form and substance, shell and kernel. What was it that caused the faithful to be so cast down, when they looked at the outlines of the second temple? Certainly not that it failed to gratify their taste for beautiful buildings. But rather, because they saw, in the contrast between the new temple and the former one, a type of the relation in which they themselves stood to God; a positive declaration that his favour had been withdrawn from them; and a positive prediction that it would not return. They argued from the temple, which was then the seat of the kingdom of God, to the nature of the kingdom itself. Hence their grief arose from the outward, only so far as they looked upon it as a type of the inward. And the shape, which their grief assumed, determined the shape, which was given to the consolation offered. But for this, it would have been no consolation at all. The

1 "The shaking of the heavens, the earth, the dry land, and all the nations; of what is it a pledge, and why will it take place? for this, forsooth, that the temple at Jerusalem may be filled with the gold of the nations! He must be mightily fascinated with the glitter of gold and silver, who can associate together in his mind the gold and silver ornaments of the second temple, and the shaking of the heavens, the earth, and all the nations."

standpoint of the people was still that of the Old Testa under which they lived. To them, as their grief clearly sh the kingdom of God was inseparably connected with the te And therefore, under the form of a prediction of the glorific of the temple, which they were to be urged to build, God them an assurance, that he has not cast off his people; th promises are still all yea and amen; and that, however des his kingdom may be now, yet, when its time is come, it wil shine all the kingdoms of the world in its glory. We have what cannot be overlooked, a truly divine accommodation; differs in this respect from a practice of evil notoriety, th latter affects the very essence of the truth, whereas the has respect to the form alone. This true accommodatior through all the words and works of God, from paradise ti time of Christ. What else do we find in the promise of C that his disciples should receive a hundred fold more of e good, than they had lost for his sake? What else, in the ration, with which he cheered their minds, that they shou upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel? else, in the manner in which he treats their notion, that there seat at his right and left hand, when he passes it by wi remark, and, instead of rectifying the form, in which th necessarily clothed itself from their training and their spi condition at the time, contents himself with merely chiding views, as to the conditions of this glory, which affecte essence and had their roots in sin? A similar accommoc we may find in all the revelations, that were made by him personally or through his apostles, as to the state after deat the kingdom of glory. Like the description of the state in dise, he sets it before us in a form, in which we can compr it. Was he to withhold the truth altogether, because, own peculiar form, it would be incomprehensible? Th example, to which we have referred, throws all the more upon our passage, from the fact that believers under th Testament stood in the same relation to the kingdom of as that in which we stand to the kingdom of glory. W true of the law, is equally applicable to prophecy in this res heaven and earth will pass away, before one jot or one tittl fail (compare Matt. v. 18 with xxiv. 35). But in prophe

well as in the law, that which is founded in the nature of God, and therefore eternal even to its minutest parts, is not the letter, but the spirit; and this is to be sought for *in* the letter, and not outside. This kind of accommodation is set before us for our imitation. Or should we, perhaps, say nothing at all about heaven to children, because we can only tell them of it in a *childish* way? On the contrary, the childish form of truth is just the true one for the child. For there is no other, in which it could comprehend it at all; and any other form would only give rise to erroneous conceptions, as to the reality itself.

We shall not have much difficulty, now, in determining in what the fulfilment of this prophecy consisted. In the slight prelude to its complete fulfilment, it appears in the very form in which it is depicted here. Every gift, which was brought by proselytes, during the still remaining period of the Old Testament, and dedicated to the temple out of pure love to the God of Israel, belonged to this fulfilment; just as all the outward help, which the Lord affords to his people, is a realisation of the promise in Matt. xix. 29. But the beautifying of the temple, which took place in the time of the Maccabees, and again in that of Herod, and which is regarded by several commentators, who adhere to the letter, as the sole fulfilment, had *no* connexion with it at all. The former had none; for the reference here was to a glorification of the temple, which would proceed from Gentiles, who had been brought to repentance and faith by the outward and inward leadings of God. The latter had none; for, although Herod was a *Gentile*, what he did for the temple was not the result of faith and love.[1] There were many, indeed, who *were*

[1] *Calvin* has truly observed in reference to this, "conatus est diabolus larvam ipsis objicere, ut desinerent sperare in Christum." But we must go further still. Not only Satan himself was consciously acting with this design, but his agent Herod also. It was not a matter of accident, that the second temple was so inferior in glory to the first; that the literal fulfilments of this prophecy were so trifling and rare; or that the condition of the people, from the captivity till the time of Christ, was altogether so low and miserable. So also, it is not without purpose, but the result of wise and holy designs on the part of God, that the literal fulfilment of Matt. xix. 29 so seldom occurs. "If," as *Calvin* says, "the temple had been as richly endowed, and even if the appearance of the kingdom had been just the same, as it was before, the Jews would have rested satisfied with these outward splendours; and thus Christ would have been despised, and the spiritual grace of God would have been rejected as worthless." The inferior realisation was withheld from the people, that they might not cling to what was merely accidental, the silver

to yield to this temptation, and therefore who suffered themselves to be so infatuated as to regard the very man, whose power was the greatest proof of the loss of the divine favour, and who was a hammer by which God designed to break the hard heart of Israel, as the instrument of divine mercy. But believers waited, both before and afterwards, for the consolation of Israel. For the seeming fulfilment they still substituted the real one, which will only be perfectly accomplished, when the whole fulness of the Gentiles shall have entered the kingdom of God, and that kingdom shall have been raised to its highest pitch of glory.

In the controversy with the Jews, great importance was attached to this prophecy; not so much, however, in the time of the church Fathers, when the house of God was supposed to mean the church,[1] as afterwards. The desire of the Gentiles, the

and the gold; and thus, from their satisfaction with the present, lose their longing for the principal fulfilment. But this longing was too strong for Herod; the heavenly kingdom, he feared, might interfere with his earthly rule. He built the temple on the same principle as that on which he ordered the murder of the children at Bethlehem. He wanted to prevent the coming of the kingdom of God; and to change the "latter days," for which men were longing, into the present time. This intention is made very prominent in the account given by *Josephus* (B. 15, chap. xi.), and even the special reference to the prophecy before us. From our prophecy, for example, we may explain the notion, which appears in Herod's address, that the second temple must necessarily be equal in height to the first,—Haggai had predicted that the glory of the second temple would be greater than that of the first. Compare *Josephus* xv. 11, § 1, "for our fathers built this temple to the supreme God, after the return from Babylon. But as to its size, it still wants sixty cubits of its proper height. For by so much did the *first* one, which Solomon built, exceed it;" and also, "but since I now rule by the will of God, and have enjoyed a long peace, and have become possessed of wealth and great resources, and, most of all, as the Romans, who, so to speak, are the rulers of the whole world, are friendly and well disposed towards me," &c. The allusion to our prophecy is unmistakeable here. Herod endeavours to prove the existence of all the conditions, which are described in the prophecy as essential to the glorification of the temple. "All the Gentiles," who were to promote the building of the temple, were in his estimation embraced in the "Romans, who were the rulers of the whole world." Of gold and silver there was enough in the hands of him, who had been called by God to the throne; and the announcement "in this place will I give peace" was fulfilled. We may see from § 3, how he made every exertion to ensure the accomplishment of the prediction, "the glory shall be greater," &c. "He surpassed his predecessors in the money which he expended, so that no one else appeared to have adorned the temple at all." Pretended miracles were also at hand, to prove that the work was under the especial superintendence of God.

[1] *Augustine*, for example, says, "this house, the church of Christ, is more glorious than that first one was, which was constructed of wood, stones, and other metallic substances" (de civ. dei B. 18, c. 45, 48). *Cyril* writes to the same effect.

Messiah, was to appear while the second temple was still standing. How vain, therefore, must be the hope of Israel, which still looks for a Messiah, seeing that the temple has been long since destroyed! There seemed to be only *one* difficulty in the way of this argument, namely, the rebuilding of the second temple by Herod. Some attempted to get rid of this difficulty in an unwarrantable manner, by assuming, in direct opposition to the clear statement of *Josephus*, that the rebuilding was only a partial one. The proper method of removing the difficulty, however, was that adopted by *J. A. Ernesti* and several others before him. In his treatise, *de templo Herodis M.* (reprinted in his opusculis philol. crit., p. 350 sqq.), he undertakes to prove and actually does prove, first, "that Herod rebuilt the whole temple from the very foundations, the old one being taken down piece by piece;" and secondly, "that, notwithstanding this, according to both the historical style of writing and the popular mode of speech, it was justly called the *second* temple." To the arguments brought forward by him we may add, that the object, which Herod is proved to have had in view, necessarily required that the identity of his temple with that of Zerubbabel should be preserved; and this was no doubt one of the main reasons, why he had the other destroyed *piece by piece* and rebuilt in the same way; and also that the very name of a *new* temple, in a religious, not an architectural sense, could only be properly given to one, the erection of which so completely coincided with some new and important epoch in the history of the theocracy, that the new period was outwardly represented by the new temple.

Now, according to our interpretation, this earlier method of proof seems entirely to lose its force. The allusion to the person of the Messiah disappears. The temple does not come into consideration any longer as a building; but as the seat of the kingdom of God, as the representative of that kingdom. On closer consideration, however, it is evident, that the argument only requires a new turn, in order to recover its force again. Let the destruction of the second temple be regarded, not as an outward event, but as being, what it really was, a positive declaration on the part of God, that the kingdom of God had been taken away from the Jews; and let it be also considered

that this declaration has been perpetuated for eighteen hundred years in the fate of the Jews; and it will be difficult to avoid the conclusion, that, if the fulfilment of these prophecies and the continued existence of the kingdom of God cannot be found elsewhere, Haggai must be looked upon as a visionary enthusiast. And if this be the case, then all who regard him as a true prophet of the true God, *must* seek the fulfilment elsewhere. If such glory was to be given to the second temple, in other words, to the kingdom of God, of which it was the representative, during its second period; we cannot imagine this glory interrupted, and all the manifestations of God, as the covenant God, suspended for so long a time, that the previous interruption and suspension will bear no comparison with them; especially when we consider that, in the former case, justice and severity were attended by manifestations of love and mercy, in a great variety of forms. If the second temple was to be glorified, the only kind of destruction, at all reconcileable with the credibility of the prophet, is one which is strictly speaking a glorious elevation; a destruction, namely, like that of the seed, which dies in the earth, that it may bring forth much fruit. In this case, however, we have a destruction, which is nothing but a destruction. If, then, there is any ground for hoping that the prophecy will be eventually fulfilled, there must not be an intervening period, without any preliminary fulfilments at all. The prophet himself represents his announcement, as separated from the fulfilment by "but a little" time. But here are eighteen centuries, during which God continues not God, that when a fitting opportunity arrives, he may become God once more! How foolish, to hope for anything absolutely future! It is feeding on wind and ashes. Either the Lord *is always* with us, or he will not come again. He who does not taste now, how great are the goodness and friendship of the Lord, will never do this in the future. In the time to come, there is no new beginning, there is only completion, as surely as God *is* God now, and not merely *will be* God by and by. The believers in Israel, who were waiting for the consolation of Israel before the appearance of Christ, would have been as foolish as the modern Jews, if they had not already been comforted by this consolation both in the present and the past. The modern unbelief, which

prevails among the Jews, is but a manifestation of what existed unconsciously before. As for hoping for something absolutely future, or believing in a God, who will not manifest himself as such, till some future time; a man may *conceive of* this, and even hold to it so firmly as to become a martyr in consequence; and yet this is not hope and faith. For true hope and true faith are a ὑπόστασις τῶν ἐλπιζομένων (Heb. xi. 1); and of this the necessary ground-work is the relative presence of the things to come. Now, the longer God delays to become God, the more generally must the conception vanish. Atheism is the goal, to which modern Judaism is rapidly hurrying. The impartation of new life to the ancient worship, which, with all the abhorrence of idolatry that attends it, is still identical with it in the main thing, namely, in the worship of a God, who gives no sign of his power and goodness at the present time, is hardly conceivable. The Church of Christ and Atheism will divide the spoil.

Ver. 8. "*The silver is mine and the gold is mine, saith the Lord of hosts.*"

The declaration "will be mine," in both the foregoing and following verses, is founded upon the fact, "is mine," mentioned here.

Ver. 9. "*Great will be glory of this latter house above the former, the Lord of hosts hath spoken it, and in this place will I give peace, saith the Lord of hosts.*"

Hitzig, *Maurer*, and *Ewald* have revived the *Septuagint* rendering (διότι μεγάλη ἔσται ἡ δόξα τοῦ οἴκου τούτου ἡ ἐσχάτη ὑπὲρ τὴν πρώτην), "the last glory of this house will be greater than the first." The idea involved in this would be that, through all ages, there would only be one house of God in Jerusalem, though under different forms. No doubt verse 2 favours such an idea. But there is in fact no difference between the two interpretations. The first glory would then be, as ver. 3 shows, the glory of Solomon's temple, and the second that of Zerubbabel's. The want of glory, on the part of the latter, formed the starting point of the whole prophecy. And the declaration, that in due time it would possess it in full and superabundant measure, was the prophet's consolation. The *place* is Jerusalem. Whatever is promised to it, belongs to it only so far, as it is the seat and centre of the kingdom of God. To understand by *peace* merely

spiritual peace, as most Christian commentators have done, is just as arbitrary, as to substitute for the silver and gold, spoken of here and in Isaiah, a spiritual good, which is only figuratively described as silver and gold, as *Vitringa* does. That outward peace is primarily intended, is evident from the parallel passage in Is. lx. 18, "violence shall no more be heard in thy land, wasting nor destruction within thy borders, and thou shall call thy walls salvation and thy gates praise." But when we trace back this promise to its fundamental idea, we see that the meaning which commentators have erroneously put into the *word* itself,—whether spiritual peace, as some suppose, or every kind of blessing and prosperity, as others imagine,—is undoubtedly included in it. If it is certain that God is the widows' God, the orphans need no special promise; if he punishes murder, he will also punish anger; if he leaves the ungodly no outward rest, he will also send him inward trouble; if he gives outward peace, he will give inward peace as well; there are even circumstances, in which he can fulfil his assurance in the most glorious manner, when he takes away that which he has expressly promised. At the same time, it must be observed that this prophecy, like every other in which peace is announced as a characteristic of the Messianic era, will receive a literal fulfilment at last in the kingdom of glory, on "the new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness."

The last two predictions form a pair. They were delivered on the same day, about two months later than the second one, and after it had become manifest, that the improvement in the disposition of the nation was something more than a mere ebullition of feeling. The new era might now be distinctly marked off from the earlier one. The prophet leads them on to a serious contemplation of all that has taken place since their return from captivity,—the negligence that has been shown with regard to the building of the temple, and the way in which it has been punished,—in order that the evil, that has hitherto befallen them, may serve for their edification, and not prove a stumbling block; and having done this, he finishes with the declaration, "from this day will I bless you." Whilst this promise is introduced in contradistinction to the failure of the crops and other evils, from which they have hitherto suffered,

and therefore relates to the ordinary blessings of nature; the second prophecy, vers. 20—23, contains a promise that in the fearful storms, with which the world is threatened,—storms, with which the prophecy of Daniel is so particularly concerned, —God will maintain the government in Judah, of which Zerubbabel is the representative, yea more than this, will preserve it with the most anxious care; so that the events, which bring destruction to the world, will contribute to its establishment. "I make thee a signet-ring," says the Lord to Zerubbabel. The simile of the signet-ring is introduced to denote inseparable union, and the most scrupulous care (compare the fundamental passages, Jer. xxii. 24; Song of Solomon viii. 6). We have here, therefore, not merely a parallel to Zech. ix. 1—8, where the preservation of Judah is set forth in the midst of the catastrophe which befals the land of Hadrach; but also a parallel to Dan. ii. and vii., where the exaltation of the kingdom of God goes hand in hand with the destruction of the kingdoms of the world. What was here promised to Zerubbabel found its complete fulfilment in Christ.

THE PROPHET ZECHARIAH.

The Messianic prophecies of Zechariah are only second to those of Isaiah in distinctness and importance. In this, the last prophet but one, the prophetic gift once more unfolded all its glory, as a proof that it did not sink from the exhaustion of age, but was withdrawn according to the deliberate counsel of the Lord.

Zechariah, like Jeremiah and Ezekiel, was of priestly descent. Berechiah is mentioned in chap. i. 1 as his father, and Iddo as his grandfather. The latter filled the honourable post of head of a priestly class, among the exiles who returned with Joshua and Zerubbabel (Neh. xii. 4). That Berechiah died young is evident from the fact, that in Neh. xii. 16 Zechariah is named as the immediate successor of Iddo in this office under Joiakim, who succeeded Joshua. Hence Zechariah was priest as well as prophet, at least in his later years. As in the case of Ezekiel, so also with this prophet, his priestly vocation may in many instances be gathered from the prophecies themselves (see, for example, chap. iii., vi. 9—15, ix. 8, 15, xiv. 16, 20, 21).

Zechariah has this in common with his contemporary Haggai, that his prophecies are completed in four addresses. The one with which the collection opens was delivered, according to chap. i. 1, in the eighth month of the second year of Darius, no doubt Darius Hystaspes. We may be sure that this was the commencement of Zechariah's prophetic labours. The character of the address itself favours this view. It is general in its bearing, as befits an introductory or preparatory address. The headings of the second and third prophecies (chap. i. 7, and chap. vii.

1), also lead to the same result, since they clearly indicate the chronological arrangement of the collection, and we may safely infer from them, that the two which are without dates, in chap. ix. and xiv., belong to a subsequent period.

The prophet must have been very young, when he entered upon the duties of his office. For his grandfather Iddo was in the full discharge of his official duties at the time, as the fact, already referred to, that Zechariah was his immediate successor, plainly shows. Moreover, the prophet is expressly called a young man in chap. ii. 4. Now as we learn from Neh. xii. 4 (compared with ver. 1), that the prophet's family returned to Judea with the first company of exiles in the first year of the reign of Cyrus, and eighteen years had intervened between that time and the second year of Darius Hystaspes, Zechariah can only have spent the earliest years of his childhood in Babylon; and the Babylonian colouring of his prophecy, therefore, must be accounted for, not as *De Wette* and others suppose, from his having been educated in Babylon, but partly from the fact that the Babylonian influence still continued to operate upon the whole body of exiles, and, to a still greater extent, from his resting so much, as he evidently does, upon earlier prophets who came into immediate contact with the Babylonians, and especially upon Ezekiel.

Let us look now at the historical circumstances, under which Zechariah commenced his labours, and which furnished the immediate occasion of his prophetic discourses. The privileges granted to the exiles by the edict of Cyrus, with reference to the building of the temple, were soon taken from them through the machinations of their enemies, the Samaritans, at the Persian court. They wanted both the means and the zeal, which were requisite for carrying on the work of building the temple without foreign aid. Their zeal had been considerably damped, a short time after their return, by the obstacles which were thrown in their way; for they thought themselves warranted, on account of previous promises, to expect nothing but deliverance and prosperity. At the time referred to, every one was selfishly concerned about the improvement of his own affairs alone. It was under these circumstances, and to offer a powerful resistance to this state of mind, that Haggai and Zechariah were called by

God; the former, whose reproofs led to the immediate renewal of the attempt to rebuild the temple, commencing his public labours two months before the latter. The principal object which Zechariah had in view was, as beseemed a true prophet of God, not to urge forward the outward work, in itself considered, but, throughout, to produce a complete spiritual change in the people themselves, one fruit of which would necessarily be increased zeal in the work of building the temple.—Those among whom the prophet was called to labour, consisted of two classes. There were first the honourably disposed and true believers. They had sunk into great weakness and perplexity, in consequence of the apparent contrast between the promises of God and what they actually beheld. They had begun to doubt both the power and willingness of God to help them. So far as the latter was concerned, it seemed to them that their own sins and those of their fathers were too great for God to have compassion on them again. In such cases as these, when the prophet had to deal with troubled minds, his task was to bring consolation. He does this, by pointing from the mournful circumstances of the present to a better future, and by recalling the unfulfilled portions of former prophecies, the accomplishment of which he represents as still to come. This feature in the prophet's announcements was of the greater importance, from the strength of the assaults which threatened the faith, even of such as were right-minded, in time to come, when there would no longer be messengers sent from God, and from their consequent need of a sure word of prophecy, as a light upon the darkness of their road.—The second class consisted of the hypocrites. They had left Babylon in considerable numbers along with the rest, induced, not by the proper motive, love to God and his sanctuary, but by selfishness, by the hope of sharing in all the blessings promised by God to those who returned, which they fancied were about to be poured out at once, and to the enjoyment of which, in spite of the most emphatic declarations on the part of the earlier prophets, they believed, with infatuated self-delusion, that they had a rightful claim, just because they had abstained from the grosser kinds of idolatry, and had exchanged them for its more refined form, namely the outward righteousness of works. So far as many of these were concerned, the disappointment of their hopes could not

fail to take off the hypocrites' mask from this species of unbelief. And that would be sure to be the case to a still greater extent in the time that was coming. The prophet pictures the future blessings of God as intended even for this class also, that he may thereby hold out an inducement to true conversion. But he states at the same time most emphatically, that nothing but conversion can secure for them a share in the blessings; he reminds them of the judgments, which fell upon those who treated the warnings of earlier prophets with contempt, and threatens them with new ones, of quite as fearful a character, namely, another destruction of Jerusalem and another dispersion of the nation, if they despise the last and greatest manifestation of the grace of God, the sending of the Messiah.

The scattered notices may be combined together so as to form the following picture of the future. The triumph of the people of God is still in the distance; the four monarchies of Daniel must first finish their course (chap. ii. 1—4). The worldly power, at present existing, viz., the Persian empire, is to be overthrown (chap. ix. 1 sqq.), and that by the Greeks, as appears from chap. ix. 13. In the midst of this catastrophe, which falls heavily upon the nations round about, particularly upon Tyre and Philistia, Judea is carefully protected by God (chap. ix. 8). The people of the covenant, however,—not Judah merely, but Ephraim also, which has now returned from captivity (chap. x. 8—10),—are subsequently drawn into a fierce conflict with the Greeks, which terminates in the victory and liberation of the covenant people (chap. ix. 11—x. 12). But their liberty is of short duration. Previous to the coming of the Messiah, Judah sinks very low again, and loses all its worldly power (chap. ix. 10). But, amidst all these circumstances, Judah may still comfort itself with the mercy of its God; the civil and ecclesiastical authorities being still the instruments of his blessing (chap. iii. 4). At length, however, the Lord will interpose in the most glorious manner on behalf of his people, by sending the Messiah. The Messiah himself is to spring from the family of David (see at chap. xii. 8); at the same time he will be connected with the Lord by a mysterious unity of nature, and the angel of the Lord will manifest himself in him (chap. xi., xii. 8, 10, xiii. 7). He

appears in a poor and lowly form, riding upon an ass; still he is rich in salvation, and able to overcome the whole world (chap. ix. 9, 10). He combines in his own person both the High Priest and the King (chap. vi. 9—15). As King he procures peace for his nation and raises it to a universal dominion (chap. ix. 9, 10); as High Priest he expiates in one day the sin of the whole land (chap. iii. 9), and provides an open fountain for sin and uncleanness (chap. xiii. 1), by means of his death and the shedding of his blood (chap. xii. 10).

But the appearance of Christ does not at once secure salvation for all the covenant-nation; on the contrary, it is the cause of fearful judgments. As early as chap. v. there is an announcement of another severe judgment which will fall upon Judah, and of a fresh expulsion from the Lord's own land. This is still further unfolded in chap. xi. The Lord by his angel undertakes the office of shepherd over the wretched nation, which is on the road to destruction in consequence of its sins. But the good shepherd comes into sharp collision with the wicked, depraved authorities of the nation. He is forced to relinquish his office of shepherd. He receives the wretched pay of thirty pieces of silver. He is torn away from his flock by a violent death (chap. xiii. 7), and pierced by his own nation (chap. xii. 10). As a punishment for this, the worst of all its crimes, the nation is given into the hands of wicked shepherds, and destroyed by strife within and enemies without (chap. xi.). Two-thirds utterly perish (chap. xiii. 8). But this is not the end of the ways of God with the children of the kingdom. At length, in consequence of the outpouring of the Spirit upon them, they will return and look with penitence upon him whom they have pierced (chap. xii. 10—xiii. 6).

Still the whole nation does not at first despise salvation. There is a small flock within it, by which it is welcomed with joy (chap. ix. 9). To this select body, the poor of the flock, who hold to the good shepherd (chap. xi. 11), the kingdom is given. They have to sustain a fierce conflict with the whole of the heathen world, which is arrayed against them; but, by the miraculous assistance of their God, they obtain the victory (chap. vi. 1—8, xii. 1—9, xiii. 9, and xiv.). The Gentile world, how-

ever, is not merely judged, it is also converted and presses into the kingdom of God, the limits of which are co-extensive with those of the whole earth (chap. viii. 20—23, ix. 10, xiv. 16).

With regard to the arrangement of the prophecies themselves, the collection consist of four parts, which differ in the date of their composition. Of these, the second and fourth contain various subdivisions, arising either from difference of subject, or from some new turn being given to the discourse; though at the same time these subdivisions are linked together, not only by the fact that they are assigned to the same date, but by a similarity in the mode of description adopted and also by the relation in which they stand to one another. (1). Chap. i. 1—6 contains the prophet's opening address, delivered in the eighth month of the second year of Darius. (2). The second, or emblematical portion of the collection (chap. i. 7—chap. vi.) consists of a series of visions, partly comforting and encouraging, and partly (chap. v.) threatening in their nature, which were all seen by the prophet in the same night, *viz.*, in the twenty-fourth of the eleventh month of the second year of Darius. (3). The third part consists of an address, which is both prophetic and didactic in its character (chap. vii. and viii.). This was delivered in the fourth year of Darius; and the occasion of it was the earnest enquiry of the people, whether they were still to continue to observe the day on which the temple was destroyed, as a day of fasting and mourning, or whether they were soon to expect their affairs to take so favourable a turn, that their former calamities would be buried in oblivion. (4). The last division contains a prophetic picture of the future fate of the covenant-nation. Its contents are essentially the same as those of the second address, inasmuch as there is no main-point introduced here which does not also occur there. But it differs from it, partly in the mode of representation adopted, the ordinary prophetic discourse being introduced here and a series of visions in the former case, and partly in the omission of any distinct allusion to the building of the temple, either by way of exhortation or of prophecy. Taking this in connection with the position occupied by the prophecy, at the end of the collection, we are warranted in concluding that it was not composed till after the building of the temple had been completed, at all events not till after the sixth year of

Darius. This serves to explain the fact that no date is given. In the case of all the others it was of importance that the date should be mentioned; in the first, because it served to point out the commencement of the prophet's labours; in the second, because it contained the prophecy, which was fulfilled a few years afterwards, that the building of the temple should be successfully completed by Zerubbabel; and in the third, because the question put by the people was occasioned by particular circumstances connected with the fourth year of Darius. In connection with the fourth address, on the other hand, which only related to circumstances in the remote future, inasmuch as the event predicted in the second as belonging to the immediate future had already become a thing of the past, it was quite sufficient to have a general knowledge of the period when the prophet wrote, and this could be learned from the dates already given.

Very loud complaints have been uttered as to the obscurity of the prophet Zechariah, especially by Jewish expositors. Thus, for example, *Abarbanel* says (on Dan. xi.), "the prophecies of Zechariah are so obscure, that no expositors, however skilled, have 'found their hands' (Ps. lxxvi. 5) in their explanations." And *Jarchi*, "the prophecy of Zechariah is very abstruse; for it contains visions resembling dreams, which want interpreting. And we shall never be able to discover the true interpretation until the teacher of righteousness arrives" (*i.e.* the Messiah; the expression being taken from Joel ii. 23). But these assertions, as the concluding words of *Jarchi* clearly show, rest for the most part upon a subjective basis. The more marked the reference to Christ in the case of Zechariah, the more impenetrable must his obscurity be to those who deprive themselves of the light of fulfilment, and who, because they have pictured to themselves a Messiah after the desires of their own hearts, must necessarily misunderstand and distort what is said here respecting the true Messiah, his lowliness, and death, his rejection by the greater part of the covenant nation, and their consequent punishment. So thoroughly is all this opposed to their cherished fancies. The charge of obscurity may also be traced, in the case of the rationalists, to the same subjective foundation as in that of the Jews, inasmuch as they also must necessarily make strenuous efforts, to avoid finding any very close correspondence between the pro-

phecy and its fulfilments, anything, in fact, that cannot be set down to a merely human foresight, such, for example, as the prediction of a lowly Messiah, rejected by the covenant people, and put to death. There is also a personal reason in their case, seeing that their view of prophecy would dispose them to do anything, rather than seek to overcome the actually existing difficulties by strenuous effort, or an appeal to the help of God. How thoroughly different must the efforts, and therefore the results of a *De Wette* be, who starts with the assertion that the last part contains prophecies of a visionary character, which defy all attempts at a historical explanation, from those of a *Vitringa*, who says (proll. p. 60), "but obscurity does not frighten away any one, who is eager for the truth, from investigating the genuine meaning of the prophecy; for it is indisputably certain, that there is a hidden sense in it relating to the most important things, which every one, who is not altogether indifferent to the truth, is anxious to find out, unless it be actually impossible." At the same time it must not be overlooked, that, although the obscurities are much greater in Zechariah than in the other prophets, on account of the predominance of symbolical and figurative language, yet there are two circumstances, which facilitate the interpretation of his prophecies. In the first place, there is no prophetic book, in the study of which we can obtain such decisive results from a careful comparison of parallel passages, as we can in that of Zechariah, who rested so much upon the prophets who had written before him. And, secondly, since he lived after the captivity, his prophecy does not move over nearly so extensive a field, as that of his predecessors. The *chiaro-oscuro*, which we find for example in the second part of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and which arises from the fact that the whole range of blessings to be poured out in the future, especially the deliverance from captivity, and the Messianic era, are embraced in one view, disappears for the most part from the prophecies of Zechariah, just because the prophet stood between these two events.

I.—CHAP. I. 1—6.

The first revelation was made to the prophet in the eighth month of the second year of Darius Hystaspes. This prophecy, in which the prophet warns the people not to fall into their fathers' sins, and so incur their fathers' punishments, and urges them to return to the Lord with uprightness of heart, may be regarded as a kind of introduction, both to the prophet's labours generally, and also to the present collection of his prophecies. There were already serious indications, among those who had returned, of inward rebellion against the Lord. In the prophecies, which followed, the prophet was to introduce a series of consolations for such as were in trouble and despair. In order that these consolations might not be usurped by any to whom they did not belong, and abused to the increase of their carnal security, it was necessary that the indispensable condition of salvation, true repentance, should be placed at the head. The denunciation of fresh punishments against those who would not fulfil this condition, contains the germ of all that the prophet afterwards declares with greater distinctness in chap. v. and xi., as to a new and utter devastation and destruction which awaited the land, when once ungodliness should have become supreme again and the good shepherd had been rejected. The simple difference is this, that the threat is merely conditional here, whereas in the other case it is expressed absolutely, the Lord having then revealed to the prophet that the full development of the germ of ungodliness, existing in his own age, on which the infliction of the divine judgments depended, would assuredly take place, and the majority of the people would betray an utter want of the sole condition of salvation, true repentance.

II.—CHAP. I. 7—VI. 15.

The second revelation consists of a series of visions, all belonging to the same night, which contain a complete picture of the future fate of the people of God.

1. THE VISION OF THE RIDER UNDER THE MYRTLE TREES.

(Chap. i. 7—17.)

In the dead of night, when the mind is set free from the ties which bind it to outward things, and its susceptibility for divine things is thereby increased, the prophet sees, not in a dream, but in an ecstasy, a proud rider seated upon a red horse, who stops by a pool of water in the midst of the myrtle-bushes, and is surrounded by red, brown, and white horses. In the rider at the head he recognises the angel of the Lord; and in his attendants the angels that wait upon him. He enquires of an angel, who approaches him, and who introduces himself as an interpreter, what the meaning of the vision may be. Through his mediation he learns from the angel of the Lord, that the riders are the servants of the Lord, who have just ridden through the whole earth at his bidding. For what purpose, he gathers from the report which they bring to the angel of the Lord, not only in his presence, but in words which he can understand, the interpreter having opened his ears. They have found the whole earth quiet and at peace. This report, which sets the mournful condition of the people of the Lord in a still more distressing light, when it is contrasted with the prosperous nations of heathenism, induces the angel of the Lord to intercede with the supreme God on behalf of the former, and to enquire earnestly whether there is still no hope of deliverance, although the seventy years of misery appointed for the people, according to the words of the prophet Jeremiah, have long since passed away.[1] He receives a consola-

[1] *Vitringa* says (l. c p. 17) "est pulcherrimum Petavii aliorumque observatum, periodum LXX. annorum, decretorum punitioni Judaeae gentis ad perfectum implementum prophetiae bis repraesentatam esse. A quarto Jehojachimi usque ad initia Babylonica Cyri, quando dimissi sunt Judaei ex exilio, effluxerunt LXX. anni. Rursus totidem anni effluxerunt ab excidio templi et urbis, quod accidit octodecim post annis, usque ad secundum Darii Hystaspis: intersunt enim rursus inter initia Cyri Babylonica et Darii secundum anni octodecim." In the statement made here, "against which thou hast had indignation these threescore and ten years," (ver. 12 *cf.* vii. 5), the seventy years mentioned by Jeremiah, which came to an end in the first year of Cyrus, are regarded as the main period, the rest being looked upon as so much added. It was possible to acquiesce in this addition with the greater readiness, when the loss of the temple, the crowning point of the calamity, had not lasted so long as seventy years. But when the second year of Darius had arrived, the questions became more anxious and the prayers more earnest.

tory answer from the Lord. This reply is communicated to the prophet by the interpreter, who charges him to make its contents publicly known. Its purport is as follows. The vengeance of the Lord will be poured out in due time upon the nations, by whom his commission to punish the covenant people has been executed, not as a command from Him, but to gratify their own desires, and at the same time with an amount of wicked cruelty which has far exceeded his commands; even though they may be found at present in a state of peace and prosperity. And so also will the promises, which have been made to the covenant-nation, be all fulfilled, though they may be apparently delayed. Ample proofs will be given to it of the continuance of the divine election; the building of the temple will be completed; and Jerusalem will rise from its ruins.

The following remarks may serve to give us a closer insight into the meaning and design of this vision. But first of all, a question of great importance presents itself, and one which bears upon the correct explanation, not of this vision only, but also of those which follow; namely, whether the interpreter is the same person as the angel of the Lord, or a different person altogether. The majority of commentators (including *Marck*, *C. B. Michaelis*, *Rosenmüller*, and *Maurer*) maintain the former; *Vitringa*, with whom we agree, the latter. The following reasons have been adduced for believing that they were the same. (1). "In ver. 9, where the prophet addresses the interpreter as 'my Lord,' these words must necessarily be addressed to the angel of the Lord; for no other person has been mentioned at all."—But the fact is overlooked, that in the prophecies generally, and especially in the visions, on account of their dramatic character, persons are very frequently introduced, either as speaking or as addressed by others, without having been previously mentioned. —(2). "In ver. 9, the interpreter promises to explain to the prophet the meaning of the vision. The explanation is then given in ver. 10 by the angel of the Lord, who must, therefore, be the same person as the interpreter."—But the actual words of ver. 9 are, "I will make thee *see*, what these are." This refers to the opening of the spiritual eyes and ears of the prophet. And it is not till after this has been done by the interpreter, that the prophet is able to understand the words of the angel of the

Lord and the report which the attendant angels bring to him. Compare chap. iv. 1, where the interpreter is said to wake the prophet, as a man that is wakened out of his sleep.—(3). "According to ver. 12 the angel of the Lord presents a supplication to the supreme God on behalf of the covenant people. And in ver. 13 the Lord is said to have answered the interpreter with comfortable words. Now it can hardly be supposed that the question was asked by one person, and the answer given to another."—But we may either imagine, as *Vitringa* suggests, that the prophet has omitted to mention the circumstance, that the answer was first of all directed to the angel of the Lord, and reached the interpreter through him, or, what is more probable, that the Lord addressed the answer at once to the interpreter, because the angel of the Lord had asked the question, not for his own sake, but simply in order that consolation and hope might be communicated through the interpreter to the prophet, and gain through him to the nation at large.

On the other hand, the following reasons may be offered, for believing that the interpreter was not the same person as the angel of the Lord.

1. The title which is given to the interpreter throughout, the angel, that talked with me," serves at the outset to point him out as a different person from the angel of the Lord. This could not be the case if it only occurred immediately after the angel had spoken to the prophet. But the fact that it is introduced on other occasions (see for example ver. 9, 13) is a proof, that it does not relate to any particular act on the part of the angel, but to his office, and is equivalent to *angelus collocutor*, *interpres*. And, as if to make it plain that the expression is used as an official title, the prophet never employs any other, and uses this without the slightest variation, never even substituting the construction with עִם or אֵת, which usually occurs in other cases, for the expression דִּבֶּר בְּ. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact that the words were put into the mind of the hearer, in order that they might continue there (see vol. i. 192).

2. The occurrence described in chap. ii. 1—4 is quite decisive. The prophet sees a figure occupied in measuring the future dimensions of Jerusalem. The interpreter leaves the

prophet, for the purpose of making inquiry on his behalf as to the meaning of this vision. But, before he reaches his destination, another angel comes to meet him with the command, "run, say to this young man," &c. Assuming that the interpreter and the angel of the Lord were the same, directions would have been given to the latter in a tone of authority by an inferior angel,—a procedure altogether irreconcileable with the superior dignity, which is ascribed to him everywhere else, and especially in Zechariah. Moreover it was, in all probability, the Angel of the Lord himself, who was measuring Jerusalem. And if this supposition be correct, there is the less possibility of his being the same person as the interpreter, since the latter was with the prophet at the time, and it was not till afterwards that he left him, to make inquiry concerning the vision.

3. It is a striking fact, that no divine work is ever ascribed to the interpreter, nor any divine name given to him, as to the Angel of the Lord, and that he never does anything more than communicate to the prophet the commands of a higher authority, and explain to him visions, which are invariably manifested to the prophet's inward sight by the Lord himself, and never by the interpreter (*cf.* chap. ii. 3, iii. 1).

4. The conclusion at which we have arrived is confirmed, on comparing it with what we find in other passages of the Old Testament. In Ex. xxxii. 34 the chief revealer of God, the Angel of the Lord, is represented as having another angel subordinate to him, who stands to him in the very same relation in which he himself stands to the supreme God. But what we find in the Book of Daniel in connexion with this subject, is of especial importance for the interpretation of Zechariah. The Angel of the Lord, the great prince, who represents his people (chap. xii. 1, *cf.* Zech. i. 12), is called there by the symbolical name of *Michael*. He generally appears in silent majesty, and only occasionally, as in the case before us, speaks a few words. But, as a mediator between him and Daniel, *Gabriel* is introduced, whose duty it is to unfold and explain the visions (compare chap. viii. 16, ix. 21, and see *Dissertation on Daniel* p. 135 sqq.).

The Angel of the Lord is seated upon a red horse in the midst of a thicket of myrtles. The latter is a striking image of the kingdom of God,—not a proud cedar or a lofty mountain,

but a modest myrtle in the hollow, yet lovely for all that, as Esther was originally called *Hadassa*, myrtle, on account of her loveliness. The comparison of the kingdom of God to the quiet waters of Siloah, in contrast with the roaring waters of the Euphrates, is of a similar character (see Is. viii). Whilst the kingdoms of the world were surrounded by outward splendour, the kingdom of God was always lowly and unpretending; and at this time especially it appeared to be approaching its end. The fact that the Angel of the Lord stopped in the midst of the thicket of myrtles, was an indication of the distinguished protection enjoyed by the Church of God, notwithstanding its feeble condition. In the same way is Christ represented in Rev. i. 13, ii. 1, as walking in the midst of the seven candlesticks, the protector and judge of the Church. The thicket of myrtles was בַּמְּצֻלָה. This must be a different form of מְצוּלָה. The latter means the depth (Vulg. *in profundo*), and in other cases is only applied to the sea or the deep places of a river. In the symbolical language of Scripture it represents the world. מצולה itself is used for the sea of the world in Ps. cvii. 24; and also in Zech. x. 11, "and all the מצולת of the Nile are put to shame, and the pride of Assyria is cast down, and the rod of Egypt will depart." The cognate word צוּלָה is also employed to denote the powers of the world in Is. xliv. 27. The true explanation is given in the Chaldee version, "*in Babele.*" And this has been revived by *Baumgarten* (Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharia i. p. 73), who finds an allusion in this passage to the "abyss-like power of the kingdoms of the world." The expression in chap. ii. 7, "thou that dwellest with the daughter of Babylon," corresponds to the words "in or at the depth," in the passage before us. Whether there is any reference to the fact that the myrtles of nature flourish best by the water's side (Virgil Georgics 2. 212, litora myrtetis lætissima; 4. 124, amantes litora myrti), we shall not stop to enquire. We cannot better express what we are to understand by the fact, that the Angel of the Lord appears seated upon a horse and *that* a red horse, than in the words of *Theodoret*, "he sees him mounted on a horse, to show the rapidity with which everything is accomplished; and the red colour of the horse sets forth his indignation against his heathen foes, for wrath is bloody and therefore red." Red is the

colour of blood. It is in red garments that the Angel of the Lord is described in Is. lxiii. as coming from Bozrah, after having slain the enemies of his kingdom. And in Rev. vi. 4 it is on a red horse that he is seated, to whom power is given to take peace from the earth, and that they should kill one another, and to whom is given a great sword. (With reference to red, as the colour of blood, see the notes on Rev. xii. 3). Hence the colour of the horse is the symbol of what the angel of the Lord says of himself in ver. 15: "I burn with great wrath against the nations that are in safety and at ease." The inferior angels, who surround the angel of the Lord, are a symbolical representation of the idea, that all the requisite means are at his command for the salvation of his people and the destruction of his foes. The colour of their horses represents the judgments which await the latter, and which are about to be executed with irresistible force; just as in Rev. vi. 2 sqq., the colour of the horses is a symbol of the work to be accomplished by the riders. The red and brown colours both relate to the blood;—the Arabic word, which answers to שרקים, is used *de sanguine concreto*, see the *thesaurus of Gesenius*. White is the colour of brilliant lights, the symbolical representation of glory, and in this connexion refers to the glorious victories to be obtained over the enemies of the kingdom of God. The riders have just returned from a mission, and give in their report in the hearing of the prophet. As Satan goes to and fro in the earth, to see how he can get at the righteous (see Job, chap. i.); so do they go to and fro in the earth in the interests of the church of the Lord. In the present case the immediate object was not to perform any active service, but merely to reconnoitre, and the result of their enquiry furnished the occasion for the prayer for compassion on Jerusalem. In the second year of Darius there was universal peace; all the nations, that had constituted the former Chaldean empire, were in the enjoyment of uninterrupted prosperity. Even the Babylonians—to whom it is evident from ver. 15, that the expression "the whole earth sitteth" (as contrasted with the prostrate condition of the people of God) "and is quiet," chiefly refers—had quickly recovered from all that they had suffered in consequence of the capture of the city by Cyrus. The city had continued rich and flourishing. Judea alone, the seat of the

ingdom of God, presented a mournful aspect. The capital was ill for the most part in ruins. There were no walls round bout to protect it. The building of the temple had hitherto een exposed to difficulties, which the disheartened nation still espaired of overcoming, though the work had been resumed ome months before at the instigation of Haggai. The number f inhabitants was but small; and the greater part of the land as still a waste (see Nehemiah, chap. i.). Such a state of hings necessarily exposed the faithful to great temptation, and furnished the ungodly with an excuse for their ungodliness. Compare Mal. ii. 17, where the latter say, "every one that doeth evil is good in the sight of the Lord, and he delighteth in them," or, "Where is the God that punishes?" and chap. iii. 15, "therefore we call the scorners happy, for the ungodly increase, they tempt God, and everything prospers with them." It required a large amount of faith, under such circumstances as these, to have no doubts as to either the truthfulness or omnipotence of God. The return of the covenant nation had been but a small step towards the fulfilment of his promises. The predicted judgments on Babylon embraced far more than the mere capture of the city; and yet even this, the opening judgment, had been concealed from view, by the fact that the city was gradually recovering. The prophecy before us was intended to ward off the temptations, to which such a state of things were sure to give rise, and which crippled every effort in connection with the theocracy. The appearance of the angel of the Lord, as the protector of his people, was in itself a rich source of consolation. And his interceding for his people showed still more clearly, that he time of commiseration was drawing nigh. For his intercession could not be in vain; nor could the will of God be nknown to him. The answer, which he received from the ord, was enough to quiet any fear and trembling that might yet main. It showed that his promises and threats would certainly be fulfilled, however gradually, at the time determined i his wise and holy counsel.

We must add a few words here as to the fulfilment itself. commencement was made immediately afterwards. The volt of the Babylonians, in the reign of *Darius Hystaspes*, ought the city a great deal nearer to the complete destruc-

tion, which had been predicted. Apart from the fact that it
be regarded as a continuation of the conquest of the cit
Cyrus, it inflicted deeper wounds than this had done. A fe
massacre took place in the city, and its walls were destro
Again, the building of the temple at Jerusalem was successf
accomplished in the sixth year of Darius. The arrival of E
and shortly afterwards that of Nehemiah, who restored the w
of the city and greatly added to the population, were proofs t
the favour of God still rested upon the nation, and signs of
continued election. But we must not look to the immed
future for the complete fulfilment. The prophecies of Zechar
like those of his predecessors, embrace the whole range of
judgments and salvation of God; with the exception only
that portion which had already taken place, such for exampl
the conquest of Babylon and the return of the covenant peo
Hence, whatever is said here concerning the wrath of God
Babylon and the other enemies of the kingdom of God, could c
be finally accomplished in their complete extermination;
what is said respecting the renewal of the favour of God tow
his people, in the sending of the Messiah. In the fact that
fulfilment commenced at once, the people received a pledge, t
at some future period the whole of the prophecy would assur
be fulfilled.

2. THE FOUR HORNS AND THE FOUR SMITHS.

(Chap. i. 18—21).

This vision is also consolatory in its tendency. The pro
sees four horns, and the interpreter explains to him that t
represent the enemies of the kingdom of God. He then
four smiths, who break these horns in pieces. The meanin
obvious. The enemies of the Lord are to be punished for t
sins; the Lord will defend his feeble church against every att
So far expositors are all agreed. But there is a differenc
opinion as to what we are to understand by the four horn
hostile powers. (On the horns, as the symbol of power, see
Commentary on Ps. cxlviii. 14, and Rev. v. 6). Accordin

some, the four were contemporaneous (*Hitzig* says they represent "the Gentile foes of Judah in all quarters of the world"), whilst according to others they followed in succession. The former assert, without any ground, that the preterites, זרו in ver. 2, and נשא in ver. 4, prove that the kingdoms referred to had already shown hostility to Judah, and still continued to do so. (Judah only is mentioned; the name Israel is applied to Judah in ver. 2 as a title of honour). The fact is entirely overlooked, that it is with an inward perception that we have to do, and that to this everything appears to be present. It is a fatal objection, however, to this exposition, that there were not four independent powers in a state of hostility to Judah in the time of Zechariah. All the nations, with which Judah came in contact, were subject to the Persian empire. *Hitzig* supposes that "in the time of Zechariah these hostile kingdoms had already been for the most part (?) subdued by Cyrus and Cambyses; although the author speaks of four smiths as breaking off the horns, to make the numbers correspond." But how could the prophet say anything unsuitable, for the mere purpose of "making the numbers correspond?" The parallel passages, however, afford positive evidence of the correctness of the opinion, that a succession is intended. A slight allusion to the rise of four worldly powers in succession may be found even in Joel i. 4 (see vol. i. p. 318). In Daniel chap. ii. and vii. the four parts of the image and the four beasts represent four successive phases of the imperial power. This is of the greater importance, since the prophecy of Daniel was just that link in the prophetic chain, to which Zechariah was called to attach his own prophecies, and the symbol itself points back to Daniel, as well as the number four (compare Dan. vii. 7, 8, viii. 3—9). If we enquire more particularly what four empires are referred to, the first must be the Babylonian, which was not yet completely humbled, as the third vision shows, although it had already received a fatal wound from the Persian smith. The second is the Persian. That the Grecian must have been recognised by the prophet as the third, is evident from the expression in chap. ix. 13, "I stir up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Javan." The fourth is not named. The connexion with Daniel is apparent here also, for, in his prophecy, the approaching dominion of Greece is expressly

and amply referred to; whilst the fourth monarchy on the other hand is left without a name.

Zechariah was at all events informed by this vision, that the triumph of the people of God was still remote. But the final victory was certain notwithstanding; and though it would have to suffer from one imperial power after another, it would still survive them all.

3. THE ANGEL WITH THE MEASURING LINE.

(Chap. ii.)

The symbolical apparatus is but small in this case. The prophet sees, as Ezekiel had done before him (xl. 3), a figure engaged in measuring the future dimensions of Jerusalem, because the present area will not suffice for the enlargement, which is to be effected by the mercy of the Lord. The figure is in all probability no other than the Angel of the Lord. No proof need be offered that such an occupation was a very suitable one for the person by whom, as guardian of the covenant nation, the enlargement itself would be brought about. The fact that he gives instructions to another angel, whom he sends to the interpreter, is a proof that he must have been of a higher rank than that of an inferior angel. We have also the further advantage of an exact correspondence between this passage and the twelfth chapter of Daniel, where precisely the same persons are introduced, viz., *Michael*, the angel of the Lord, accompanied by *Gabriel*, the interpreter, and another angel (see the *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 134 sqq.). The interpreter has hitherto remained with the prophet, who is looking on from a distance; but now he leaves him, to ascertain from the Angel of the Lord the meaning of what he is doing. He has only just set out, when another angel is despatched by the Angel of the Lord, to give him the required explanation, and order him to communicate it to Zechariah. From the fact that the angel speaks of him as "this young man," the conclusion has been quite correctly drawn, that the prophet was but a youth at this time. Still it is probable that there is also an allusion to his inexperience and

short sightedness as a man.[1] There is only one thing in which the commentators have erred, namely, that they have selected one of these to the exclusion of the other. The prophet's youth is distinctly noticed, because youth is a type of the nature of man in relation to God and his holy angels *(vid.* 1 Sam. iii. 1 sqq.; Jer. i. 6, 7).—The message, which the other angel brings to the interpreter for Zechariah, is the following. The city is to extend far beyond its present boundaries, and will be defended and glorified by the Lord (ver. 4, 5). The infliction of judgment upon Babylon, and the ungodly powers of the world in general, goes hand in hand with the mercy bestowed upon Jerusalem. The thought is expressed in the form of an appeal to the Zionites, who are still dwelling in Babylon, to escape; an appeal, which was not intended to be put in practice, any more than the similar appeal in Jer. li. 6. The highest possible glory is conferred upon Jerusalem, from the fact that the Lord himself takes up his abode there, the result of which will be, that many nations will attach themselves to the congregation, which is rendered glorious by his presence (vers. 10—13). All this is explanatory of the symbol. The great extent of Jerusalem, which this symbol indicates, has its ultimate ground in the appearance of the Lord in the midst of his people, and its necessary condition in the defeat of the whole worldly power, by which the kingdom of God is opposed, and which is represented here by the daughter of Babylon. On the other hand, the especial cause of Jerusalem becoming too small for its inhabitants, and breaking forth on the right hand and on the left (Is. xlix. 19), is that "many nations are joined to the Lord in that day" (ver. 11).—Vers. 6 and 7 are placed in a false relation to what goes before by those who understand them to mean, "this may lead all the Jews, who are still left in Babylon, to decide upon a speedy return to their own land, that they may share

[1] *Jerome* was also of this opinion, and says: "human nature is always childhood, when contrasted with the dignity of angels; because angels do not grow up into men, but men into angels." And *Vitringa* says to the same effect: "he calls him נַעַר, not from any contempt of short-lived man, who is unskilled in many things, and chiefly ignorant of things celestial, but by way of contrast; and the expression is equivalent to inexperience, needing to be taught many things, just as Ezekiel is always called 'Son of Man,' in exactly the same sense."

with their brethren in the promised blessings." That the injunction to leave Babylon was based exclusively upon the judgment which threatened it, is evident from the exclamations "up, up and *flee*"[1] (ver. 6), "up, Zion, and save thyself" (ver. 7).—The whole announcement is essentially Messianic; and in such events, as the increase in the population of Jerusalem, particularly from the days of Nehemiah onwards, the calamity which fell upon Babylon under Darius Hystaspes, and the victories gained by the Maccabees ("and they shall be a spoil to them that serve them," ver. 9), we see nothing more than a slight prelude of the fulfilment. The essentially Messianic character is especially apparent from what is said in ver. 10, 11, of the Lord dwelling at Jerusalem, and the heathen nations flocking thither in consequence, as a splendid demonstration of the mercy of God, which, according to ver, 13, was to fill all nations with overpowering amazement. On this *Baumgarten* has correctly observed, that "the great choice is laid before them, either to humble themselves before the Lord, who is coming in his kingdom, or to destroy themselves; since the time is gone by, when the flesh can exalt itself." It is evident from ver. 11, "and I will dwell in the midst of thee, and thou shalt know that the Lord of hosts hath sent me unto thee," that the person, who announces here that he will glorify the church with his presence, is the angel of the Lord, who was afterwards to appear, as the prophets had predicted, in the Messiah himself. Consequently, He who was to dwell in the midst of the covenant nation, just as He had formerly been present in the pillar of cloud and of fire, was the very same person, who was now sent by the supreme God to convey this glorious intelligence through the prophet to the nation, who is called Jehovah in ver. 10, and who is here designated the messenger, to distinguish him from

[1] From the fact that *flight* is referred to, it is evident that ver. 6 must be explained thus, "for I have scattered you to the four winds of heaven" (and especially to the north); *cf.* Ezek xvii. 21. With reference to the connexion between ver. 8 and ver. 6, 7, *Michaelis* says, "it is stated in ver. 9, why the Jewish exiles were to fly, viz., that they might not be involved in the destruction, which the Angel was about to bring upon the hostile land." That אחר כבוד in ver. 8 must mean "after glory," that is, after ye have been brought to glory, is evident from the allusion to the close of ver. 9. *Michaelis* says, "it is not enough for me to manifest my glory in Israel, I will also make my name illustrious in the Gentiles themselves."

the sender. That the person, who is described in ver. 8, as executing judgment upon the heathen, was identical with the Messiah, may be clearly seen from chap. ix. 9, where the arrival of the latter is announced to the nation in almost the same words: "Sing and rejoice, O daughter of Zion, for lo, I come;" "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, sing, O daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy king cometh unto thee."

Still further explanation may be obtained from chap. xi., where the Angel of the Lord is described as coming in the Messiah; appearing to the people, among whom he had hitherto been invisibly present, and whom he had represented before God; and entering upon the office of shepherd over them. In this and the ninth chapter, the bright side only is shown; but in the chapter just referred to, as well as in chap. v., the dark side is also displayed, viz., the unbelief of the greater part of the nation in Him who had appeared, and their rejection of Him. Even in the earlier Jewish commentators, quoted by *Jerome*, and also in *Kimchi* and *Abarbanel*, we find an admission that the prophecy refers to the Messianic times.

4. JOSHUA, THE HIGH PRIEST, BEFORE THE ANGEL OF THE LORD.

(Chap. iii.)

The ten verses are divided into two fives. The thesis is, "say not, I have acted too wickedly." In the first half the forgiveness of past sins is promised to the High Priest, and through him to the people of God. In the second half an assurance is given, first, that the protection of God shall be immediately extended to the high-priestly office (ver. 6, 7), and secondly, that in the more remote future the true High Priest will appear, who will take away the sin of the land in one day, and pour out upon it the whole fulness of salvation.

Ver. 1. "*And* (the Lord) *showed me Joshua, the high priest, standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand, to oppose him.*"

The future with *Vav conversive* connects this vision closely with the one which precedes it, and shows that it constitutes one

link in the series of visions, which were all seen by the prophet in the same night. The subject of the verb "*showed*" is undoubtedly the Lord, as the *Septuagint* translators and *Jerome* perceived. This is the most natural construction; for the Lord is mentioned immediately before, in the very sentence with which the *Vav conversive* connects this verse. To this we may add the analogous expression in chap. ii. 3, "the Lord showed me four smiths." According to the usual explanation, the *angelus collocutor* is the subject, but his task is invariably to interpret, not to show the pictures. הכהן הגדול, the High Priest, is introduced here with peculiar emphasis, as also in ver. 8 and chap. vi. 11. It proves that it is not the person, but the office of Joshua, which is the point in consideration here, not his private but his public character. The expression, "standing before the Angel of the Lord," has been misunderstood by the greater number of commentators. They imagine it to be a judicial phrase; the Angel of the Lord being represented as a judge, Satan as the plaintiff, and Joshua as the defendant. But such an idea is very prejudicial to a correct interpretation of the whole vision. The expression, "to stand before a person," is never used of the appearance of a defendant before a judge, but always of a servant standing before his Lord, to offer his services and await his commands. Compare, for example, Gen. xli. 46, "Joseph was thirty years old when he stood before Pharaoh;" 1 Sam. xvi. 21, "and David came to Saul and stood before him, and he loved him greatly, and he became his armour-bearer;" 1 Kings i. 28, x. 8, and Deut i. 38. But in connection with the service of the Lord this phrase is still more frequently employed. Thus in ver. 4 (*cf.* Is. vi. 2) it is applied to angels; in 1 Kings xvii. 1 to the prophets, "Elijah said, as the Lord God of Israel liveth, before whom I stand" (see also in Jer. xviii. 20); and in 2 Chr. xx. 13 to the whole nation. But it was most frequently used in connection with the priests, for whose service it became the standing technical phrase; *vid.* Deut. x. 8, "at that time the Lord separated the tribe of Levi, ... to stand before the Lord, to minister to him, and to bless in his name;" 2 Chr. xxix. 11, "my sons, be not now negligent; for the Lord hath chosen you to stand before him, to serve him, and offer incense to him;" Ps. cxxxv. 2, "ye servants of the Lord, that

and in the house of the Lord;" Judg. xx. 28, "Phinehas stood before the Lord in those days;" and Deut. xvii. 12. And thus the prophet sees Joshua the High Priest on the present occasion, engaged as a priest in the service of the angel of the Lord, who is introduced in ver. 2 under the name of Jehovah, which belongs to God alone, and who attributes to himself in ver. 4 an exclusively divine work, the forgiveness of sins. As a priest he also entreats favour for himself and the nation, and offers prayer and intercession. *Theodoret* describes him as *τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ λάου εὐσεβείας προσφέρων τῷ θεῷ*. The correctness of this explanation is confirmed by ver. 4, where עמד לפני occurs again in connection with the service of the Lord.—The words that follow, viz., "Satan stood *at* (lit. *over*) his right hand," are also generally rendered incorrectly. Starting with the supposition, which we have already shown to be false, that a judicial process is alluded to here, the majority have traced this description to a custom, said to have been prevalent among the ancient Jews, for the plaintiff to stand at the right hand of the defendant—a custom, of the existence of which not the slightest trace can be found. The right hand is mentioned rather as being the most appropriate place for one, who wished to *hinder* or *support* another with success. Thus in Ps. cix. 6, we read, "set thou a wicked man over him and let the enemy (*Angl.* Satan) stand at his right hand."—The prophet uses the very words of this passage in the Psalms. The enemy alluded to in this Psalm, in which the word שטן, *Satan*, occurs more frequently than anywhere else, is the fitting representative and type of the enemy generally.—Again, in ver. 31 the Lord is spoken of as "standing at the right hand of the poor." In Ps. cxxi. 5 the Psalmist writes, "the Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand;" and in Ps. cxlii. 4, "look to the right hand and see, no one will know me." Job again (chap. xxx. 12) says, "at the right hand riseth up the brood, they trip me up, and prepare against me their ways of destruction."—לְשִׂטְנוֹ is well explained by *Tarnov* thus, "that he who is called Satan, from the opposition he offers, might thus fill up the measure of his name;" and by *Rückert*, "the *enemy* stood at his right hand to *act the part of an enemy* towards him."—The scene, then, is the following, the high priest is in the sanctuary, the building

of which has already commenced, and is engaged in prayer for the mercy of the Angel of the Lord: the latter comes down, condescends to appear in the temple, as a proof of his favour, attended by a company of angels (*vid.* ver. 7). Satan, the sworn enemy of the church of God, looks with jealous eyes at the restoration of the church to the favour of the Lord; and prepares to interrupt it again by his accusations.—We need not stop to show the fallacy of the opinion, advocated by some of the earlier commentators (*Kimchi* and *Drusius*), and revived for the most part by *Ewald*, that Satan is a figurative term, and refers to Sanballat and his confederates, who tried to hinder the building of the temple. It is disproved by the prologue to Job, which Zechariah, who always rests upon earlier writings, had undoubtedly before his eyes (compare Job i. 10 with Zech. vi. 5). It is also of importance to refer to that passage, inasmuch as it will show us how much is drapery and how much belongs to the subject-matter. In both passages, and also in Rev. xii. 10, where Satan is called "the accuser of our brethren, which accused them before our God day and night," the doctrinal idea is simply this, that Satan leaves no stone unturned, to turn away the favour of God from the individual believer and the whole church of God. That to this end he appears before God in heaven, or the temple at Jerusalem, as an accuser, belongs to the poetical or prophetico-symbolical representation, the very essence of which required that spiritual things should be set forth in an outward and visible form.—The only question that remains is, what means did Satan employ, to effect a rupture between the High Priest and the Angel of the Lord? There is no ground for the assumption of the Jewish commentators and several modern ones, that the accusation, which Satan brought, was false, and the High Priest was perfectly innocent. This is evident from vers. 3—5, where the Lord *forgives* the High Priest his sin, and has his filthy garments taken off and clean clothes put on instead, the symbol of the righteousness which is imparted *through grace*. The true exposition is this. The High Priest, as we have already shown, is introduced here as discharging the duties of his office. But, when so engaged, he took the place, in a certain sense, of the whole nation (*Cyril*: ὁ δέ γε ἱερεὺς νοηθείη ἂν ἀντὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ). Among the proofs of this we may cite Judg. xx. 27, 28,

e the High Priest Phinehas says to the Lord: "shall *I* yet
ı go out to battle against the children of Benjamin *my* brother,
all I cease? and the Lord said, Go up, for to-morrow I
deliver them into *thine* hand." Just as the sins of the High
ıt were imputed to the nation ("if the anointed priest sin-
so as to bring guilt upon the nation" לאשמת העם); so
he High Priest, on the other hand, come before the Lord
ı with the sins of the whole nation, of which he was the
ɜsentative.[1] The representative character of the High Priest,
ı, is more especially apparent in this case, from the fact that
easons assigned by the Lord in ver. 2, for rejecting the accu-
n of Satan, have reference, not to his private circumstances,
ɔ the relation, in which the whole nation stands to the Lord.
he annual day of atonement, also, the High Priest had to
ith Satan. And on that occasion he was opposed to him,
ıs an individual, but as the representative of the nation.
expiated sins of the nation were sent away into the desert
ıtan. Of course, the High Priest himself is not to be thought
s exempt from sin. In fact, he had to atone first of all for
ɜlf and his house on the great day of atonement, before he
ed the expiatory sacrifice for the nation (Lev. xvi. 11; Heb.
ı. The High Priest, laden with his own sins and those
ɜh were imputed to him, stood before the Lord as a man
, like Isaiah, was of unclean lips and dwelt among a nation
ıclean lips, and who had to confess his own sin and that of
ıation, as Daniel also had done in the discharge of his extra-
ınary priestly function (chap. ix. 20). It was this, in fact,
ɜh constituted the ground of the objection, namely, that the
h Priest could not act as the representative of the nation and
its sin, because he was involved in that sin himself. Be-
ı, it was not the ordinary sinfulness of humanity, the *pecca-*
quotidianum, for which the saints have constantly to humble
ıselves, that was in question here; but, just as in Dan. ix.,
ıbominations of iniquity, which had called down the judg-
t of the Babylonian captivity, the consequences of which still
inued to press heavily upon the nation. When the people

Abenezra on Lev. iv. 13, חגה הכהן הגדול שקול בנגד כל ישו "*ecce pontifex max. aequiparatur universo Israeli.*" For other
ɜs see *Herwerden de sacerdote magn. Hebr.* Gröningen 1822, p. 9.

returned from exile, they called to mind the grievous sins of their forefathers, and were also conscious of their own sinfulness; and, seeing nothing but the first and slightest manifestations of divine mercy, they began to despair. They believed that God had rejected the High Priesthood, which he had appointed to mediate between himself and the nation, but which had become involved in the sins of the people. This despair of the mercy of God could not but be followed by consequences quite as disastrous as those which had resulted from false security; and their carelessness about building the temple, on which such undue stress has been laid by commentators, was but one of these, and that a comparatively small one.—Experience shows, that despair of the forgiveness of sins strikes at the root of all religion. And the Psalmist expresses the close connexion between the two in the words, "there is forgiveness with thee, that thou mayest be feared." The prophet does not represent the Lord, as appearing in glory, to send the people to sleep in their sins with the false peace of self-righteousness, but as giving them the assurance, that, notwithstanding the magnitude of their sins, He, of his own free grace, would allow the office of High Priest to continue, and would accept his mediation until the time should come, when the true High Priest, of whom Joshua was only the type, should appear and effect a perfect and everlasting reconciliation.

Ver. 2. "*And the Lord said to Satan: the Lord rebuke thee, O Satan, the Lord that hath chosen Jerusalem rebuke thee. Is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?*"

The Pelagianism, which characterises the modern expositions of this passage, such, for example, as that of *Ewald*, appears in its most unvarnished form in *Jarchi's* paraphrase, "Accuse not this righteous man, he has been delivered from the furnace on account of his purity and worth." The rejection of Satan's accusation is founded by the Lord, not upon the worthiness of Joshua and the nation, but solely upon his own choice, his own grace, which have been manifested in the recal of the nation from its captivity, and which he cannot now deny without thereby contradicting himself.[1] גָּעַר, to rebuke, when applied to God, who accom-

[1] *Calvin* says: "God points to the favour which he had shown to the priest, that the faithful may learn that Joshua will be superior to his enemies, because God will not forsake his own work; for, where the grace

plishes all things by his own word, includes the idea of actual suppression and repulse; compare, *e.g.*, Ps. cvi. 9 and Mal. iii. 11. The word is repeated, that the reason may be added: "the Lord rebuke thee," and indeed rebuke thee for this reason, &c. (compare chap. vi. 13). The election of Jerusalem is mentioned here, in contrast with its temporary rejection during the Babylonian captivity (*vid.* chap. i. 17). This election had continued throughout, but had been prevented from showing itself. The manifestation of it had recommenced with the restoration from captivity (*cf.* Rom. xi. 1 sqq.), and no machinations of Satan should interfere with it any more. The expression, "a brand plucked out of the fire," is taken from Amos iv. 11, "ye are as a brand plucked out of the fire," and is used to denote the occurrence of great misfortune, which is prevented, however, by the mercy of the Lord from issuing in utter destruction. In the words, "the *Lord* said, the *Lord* rebuke thee," a distinction is made between the Lord and his Angel; and, at the same time, the latter is placed on an equality with the former, in respect of divine wrath and glory.

Ver. 3. "*And Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the Angel.*"

In the opinion of several commentators (*Eichhorn*, *Ewald*, and others), the unclean clothes are a sign that he stood in the position of a criminal; for among the Romans such persons were brought to the bar in dirty clothes, and were called *sordidati* in consequence. But there is no trace of any such custom among the Israelites; and the exposition itself is based upon the erroneous assumption, that the standing before the Lord relates to a judicial process. Moreover, it is irreconcileable with ver. 4, where the removal of the unclean clothes is a sign of the forgiveness of sins. It is evident from this, that the only correct explanation is one in which, according to the common usage of Scripture,

of God is concerned, the end always answers to the beginning; and he does not grow weary in the way of goodness." And *Cyril* still better: ὅμοιον γὰρ ὡς εἰ λέγοι, τυχὸν πεπλημμέληκεν ὁμολογουμένως ὁ Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ταῖς σαῖς φιλοψογίαις ἐπισχημένος ὁρᾶται, πλὴν ἐκτέτικε δίκας οὐ μετριώς, ἀνέτλη τὰς συμφορὰς, ἐξεσπάσθη μόλις, ὡς ἐκ πυρὸς δαλὸς ἡμίφλεκτος· οὕτω γὰρ τὰ ἐξ αἰχμαλωσίας ἀπεικονίσατο βλάβη, ἄρτι καὶ μόλις τῆς ἀνηκέστου ταλαιπωρίας διεῖδρα τὴν φλόγα, παῦσαι δὴ οὖν ἐγκαλῶν τοις ἠλεημένοις· θεὸς γὰρ ὁ δικαιῶν, τίς ὁ κατακρίνων.

the filthy garments are understood to represent sin (compare, for example, Is. lxiv. 5, "we are all as an unclean thing, and all our righteousnesses are as a filthy garment;" Is. iv. 4; Prov. xxx. 12; Rev. iii. 4, vii. 14), and with reference to the command that the High Priest was to wear clean clothes, when he came before the Lord. The High Priest, who was here engaged in the worship of the Lord, did not come before him in the cleanly manner required by the law, but covered with his own sins and those of the nation. Satan thought this a safe handle for his accusation; but he was mistaken. The Lord, who had refined his people though not as silver (Is. xlviii. 10), who was content that the furnace of affliction should have removed only the worst dross of sin, and should have produced in his people the first beginning of true penitence, a hunger and thirst after righteousness, which required to be kept alive by kindly treatment, and not stifled by severity, imparted to them of his own free grace that which they did not possess. He bestowed the gift of justification upon the High Priest, and in him upon the nation at large; *vid.* Ps. cxxx. 7, 8.

Ver. 4. "*And he answered and spake unto those, who stood before him, take away the filthy garments from him. And unto him he said, behold I take away from thee thine iniquity, and they will clothe thee with festal attire.*"

Just as the dirty clothes represented sin, so are forgiveness and justification represented by the putting on of clean and gay clothing at the command of the Lord. We must reject the explanation given by *Marck*, who maintains that it is not justification, but sanctification, which is set forth in the whole symbolical action and in the explanation contained in the address to Joshua. The expression, "to cause sin to pass away," is only used with reference to the former (*vid.* 2 Sam. xii. 13). The ninth verse also helps to show, that it is the forgiveness of sins that is here referred to. The typical justification, granted to the High Priest and through him to the nation, is there contrasted with the true and perfect justification to be secured by the Messiah, "I remove the iniquity of this land in one day." עִנָּה is frequently used, where an address, enquiry, or entreaty, is tacitly assumed to have gone before; but the commentators, by whom this has been overlooked, have erroneously interpreted it, as

meaning to commence a discourse.[1] In this instance, the meaning, "to commence" a discourse is all the more inappropriate, because the expression, "he stood before the Lord," which immediately precedes, evidently implies some silent prayer or address on the part of Joshua. Whenever the High Priest appeared before the Lord, the simple fact of his appearing involved a prayer for the forgiveness of sins. Those who stand before the Lord, or before his Angel, the prince of the Lord's army (Josh. v. 14), are his higher servants, the angels (*cf.* Is. vi.). They are ordered to adorn his inferior servant with the signs of the forgiveness of sins, which He alone is able to impart. The infinitive הלבש simply denotes the act itself. This was the only point of importance here; the persons, by whom it was to be performed, had already been pointed out in the address delivered to them. In the words addressed to Joshua, there was the more reason for omitting this, since it belonged to the drapery, and formed no essential part of the transaction, and also because his attention was to be directed exclusively to the author of the pardon, and not to the agents employed in the symbolical representation.

Ver. 5. "*And I said: let them set a clean turban upon his head, and they set a clean turban upon his head, and clothed him with garments, and the angel of the Lord stood by.*"

The prophet, who has hitherto been merely a silent spectator and reporter, comes suddenly forward as one of the actors, being emboldened by love to his nation. The idea, which the prophet intends to express is this: "may the Lord bestow *perfect* purity upon the High Priest, and in him upon the nation." In symbol he represents it thus. The Lord merely issues the command to put clean clothes upon Joshua. And before the instructions are carried out, the prophet prays, that that portion of Joshua's unclean apparel, which has not been included in the command, may also be taken away. His prayer is heard, and Joshua is now clothed afresh *from head to foot* (hence the turban is put

[1] *Vitringa* (on Zech. i. 11), has correctly explained the use of the word: "I would have it borne in mind that, in every case, in which ענה or ἀποκρίνεσθαι is placed at the opening of a speech or narrative without any question preceding it, there is always a question tacitly assumed; just as in the sacred books, where they commence with the copula, some antecedent is always supposed to exist, with which the narrative or speech is tacitly connected, even though nothing at all has gone before."

on first). The expression, "and the angel of the Lord stood by," is well explained by *Michaelis* thus: "he stood by like a master presiding over the ceremony, approving what was done, and adorning it with his own presence."[1] By remaining present during the whole process, instead of contenting himself with giving his orders, and leaving the execution of them to his servants, the angel of the Lord furnishes a proof of his tender care and esteem for his nation.[2]

Ver. 6. "*And the Angel of the Lord testified to Joshua and said;* Ver. 7, *Thus saith the Lord, if thou wilt walk in my ways and observe me, thou shall judge my house, and keep my courts, and I give thee guides among these, who stand by.*"

The reconciliation of the High Priest, and in him of the nation at large, is followed here by his being confirmed in his office, in which there is also included a promise for the nation; for the High Priest was the mediator between God and the nation, and the latter could not be rejected, so long as the High Priest was accepted of God. The very opposite of what is promised here had taken place in the time of the Babylonian captivity, compare Is. xliii. 27, 28: "thy first father (the High Priest, as the parallelism and ver. 28 both show) hath sinned, and thy mediators have transgressed against me. Therefore I profane the princes of the sanctuary, and give Jacob to the curse." With reference to the phrase, "*to heed any one's heed*," in the sense of observing him, compare Mal. iii. 14.—That "*the house of God*" in this passage is the temple, is evident from its connexion with the courts. The High Priest and temple are represented as essentially connected even in the Mosaic law.

[1] *Baumgarten* has justly observed that "the prophet might have waited quietly till the command was executed, and we may be sure that the clean turban would not have been forgotten, among the festal garments which Joshua was to put on." But his prayer was not superfluous on that account. The importunate prayer of the church is always the condition of the granting of mercy. According to *Baumgarten*, the turban is introduced here as the supporter of the golden plate, on which there was the inscription, "holy to the Lord." But this would certainly have been alluded to in more precise terms. In this connexion the turban can only be referred to as an article of dress, and in fact the one which would be the first to strike the eye.

[2] The angel of the Lord had been standing all the time. There is nothing at all to show that he was sitting down at first, but afterwards stood up. The point upon which emphasis is laid is, that he *remained* standing, and did not go away and simply leave his servants to carry out the instructions.

Hence the people cannot be directly alluded to. But in the Old Testament the temple is represented as the spiritual dwelling place of all Israel (see the note on Ezek. xl. sqq.), and the allusion to *judging* shows that it is in this point of view that it comes into consideration here. The "*keeping of the courts of the Lord*" refers to the obligation, which rested upon the High Priest, to keep away every kind of idolatry and ungodliness, first of all from the outward temple (*cf.* 2 Chr. xix. 11, xxiii. 18, Jer. xxix. 26), and then from the Church of God, of which the temple was the central point. It is represented here, not as a duty, but as a reward; inasmuch as activity in connexion with the kingdom of God is the highest honour and greatest favour, which God can confer upon any mortal.—In the words, "*I give thee guides among these, who stand by*," the Lord promises his inferior servant a renewal of that assistance from his higher ones, which he had received but a short time before (ver. 4). מְהַלְּכִים is the Chaldee form of the Hiphil participle, in the place of the ordinary מוֹלִיכִים. The Hiphil is used in the sense of "to lead;" *e.g.* Is. xlii. 16: "I lead the blind by the way, which they know not."[1]

Ver. 8. "*Hear now, O Joshua, the High Priest, thou and thy companions, who sit before thee; for they are people of wonder; for behold I bring my servant Zemach.*"[2]

We will first of all enquire into the meaning of מוֹפֵת. It is commonly supposed, that the primary meaning of this word is *proof*, but the following reasons suffice to show, that *amazement* is really the original signification. (1). The Arabic word افت, אָפַת, indicates it. The original meaning of this word is "some-

[1] The idea, which several commentators would force upon the text, by altering the punctuation and inventing a form מְהַלְּכִים, a walk (a word, the meaning of which could not be brought in here without constraint), namely, the reception of the earthly servants of God into the chorus of the heavenly ones, is altogether foreign to the Old Testament. On the other hand, according to the established rendering, the angels appear in their ordinary character as "ministering spirits." *Baumgarten* very properly calls to mind the ascending and descending of the heavenly messengers between heaven and earth, of which Jacob had a vision at Bethel (House of God).

[2] The connexion with the preceding verses is correctly pointed out by *Kimchi* thus: "he says, although I bring you this salvation now, I will bring you hereafter a greater salvation than this, at the time when I bring my servant *Zemach*."

thing which excites surprise," and a secondary meaning, "a calamity, the greatness of which produces surprise and astonishment" (compare Is. lii. 14, *Schultens* on Job, p. 413); neither of these meanings can be obtained if the primary signification is supposed to be "proof."[1] (2.) The use of the word in Hebrew requires that amazement should be adopted as the primary meaning. For this is the only one, from which all the different senses in which the word is used can possibly be derived, especially the sense which it bears in Ps. lxxi. 7. The frequent association of מוֹפֵת and אוֹת is so far from proving the two words to have the same meaning, that it proves the very opposite. It shows that they must be both descriptive of the same thing, but from different points of view, and in this case hardly any other explanation is possible, than that the one represents the subjective sensation caused by a thing, the other its objective import. In this we are borne out by similar words in other languages, *e.g.* τέρας and σημεῖον, *prodigium* and *signum*. The occurrence of the word אות in the Books of Kings, and of מופת in the Chronicles, in the account of the miracle performed on behalf of Hezekiah, from which the erroneous conclusion has been drawn that the two words are perfectly symbolical, may be accounted for on the ground that one writer gave greater promise to the former view, and the other to the latter.—But מופת is more particularly applied to any person or thing, attracting attention and exciting astonishment from the fact that it typifies and foreshadows a future event. There are four passages, besides the one before us, in which the word occurs with this special meaning. In Is. viii. 18, Isaiah calls his sons "*signs and wonders*" (אותות and מוֹפְתִים) in Israel, on account of the prophetic names, which they had received from the Lord, by

[1] *Gesenius* is wrong when he asserts (thes. s. v. אפר) that the ت in افت forms no part of the root. He brings forward as a proof of this the combination of افت and آفة *calamitas, pernicies noxa* from the root ايف. But the two words have nothing in common. افت by itself does not mean *misfortune* any more than מוֹפֵת Ps. lxxi. 7. For, assuming this to be the primary meaning, how could it afterwards come to mean *wonder*?

)m they had been constituted types of the coming deliver-
ɜ. In Is. xx. 3, the prophet is said to have walked naked
barefoot three years, as a type of the Egyptian nation, "for
m and wonder upon Egypt." According to Ez. xii. 6, after
Lord had given the prophet instructions to set forth in his
)ns the future fate of the Israelites, he said to him, "I have
ɛe thee a *wonder* for the house of Israel," (compare ver. 11,
y, I am your *wonder*, like as I have done, so shall it be done
) you; they shall go into captivity." In Ez. xxiv. the death
he prophet's wife is recorded. The prophet is forbidden to
ırn for her, and thus the *attention* of the people is most
ngly attracted. They surmise that there must be some
ghty reason for the prophet's conduct. An explanation comes
hem from the Lord: "Ezekiel is to be a *wonder* to you; ac-
ding to all that he hath done shall ye do."—(ver. 24; compare
. 27). In all these passages מופת answers exactly to *τύπος*
μελλόντων; with this single exception, that in the latter
objective side alone is made prominent, and there is no allu-
ı to the subjective emotion of which it is the cause.[1]

We now proceed to the details of this passage. By the com-
ıions of Joshua, who are directed to listen as well as he, we
st understand his colleagues, the priests of a lower grade.
st, this is apparent from the design of the whole prophecy.
ıhua is spoken of throughout, not as a private person, but as
gh Priest. He is introduced as engaged in the perform-
ɛe of the duties of his office; and even in this verse he is
ıressly appealed to as High Priest. Hence, if his companions
spoken of here, they must be his colleagues in the priest-
ıd, and not such as are associated with him in any other capa-
ɾ.—*Secondly*, the expression, "who sit before thee," leads to
same conclusion. This does not refer to the connexion be-
ɛen a teacher and his pupils, but to that between a president
ı board, and the rest of the members, or, generally, between
hief and his subordinates (*vid.* Ez. viii. 1; Num. iii. 4; and
ɜam. iii. 1). ישב is the term ordinarily applied to the meet-
ɜs of public officials (*vid.* Ex. xviii. 13; Ps. cxxii. v.). It was
no means an infrequent thing for priests to meet in this way

[1] *Cocceius* saw this: "men of wonder (or prophetic sign, *portenti*) are
se to whom something wonderful or unusual happens, that men may be
red up to think of my promises."

under the presidency of the High Priest (see *Lightfoot* on Matt xxvi. 3. Lund. p. 517). The expression, which was first used in connexion with these meetings, was then transferred to the general relation in which the High Priest stood to the priests as his subordinates. Just as the priests are called the companions of the High Priest in the passage before us; so in Ezra iii. 2 they are called his brethren, "then stood up Joshua and his brethren, the priests, and Zerubbabel and his brethren."—כִּי, of which many a false interpretation has been given, explains the reason why Joshua and his companions are ordered to pay attention. They are to listen with peculiar attention to the promise of the Messiah, because they stand in a closer relation to him, as being types of him, and because their order will be glorified by him, in whom alone the idea of the order will be fully realised.—Commentators have found great difficulty in the word הֵמָּה, which appears to refer exclusively to the companions of Joshua, whereas Joshua himself, as the chief, was the most perfect type of the Messiah. But this difficulty falls away, when we observe that the prophet passes abruptly from the second person to the third; and evidently means that "Joshua and his companions are to hear; for they are," &c. This is obvious from ver. 9, where Joshua is spoken of in the third person. Such changes in the construction are very frequent; *e.g.* Zeph. ii. 12, "*ye* Cushites also, dead men of the sword are *they*" (הֵם); Ez. xxviii. 22; Jer. vii. 4.—The second כִּי (for) explains the reason, why Joshua and his associates are אַנְשֵׁי מוֹפֵת (men of wonder). The reason is to be found in the appearance of the antitype. For if there is no reality in this, the type itself falls away. The antitype, the Messiah, is called by two names. *First*, he is described as *my servant*, (as in Is. xlii. 1, xlix. 3, 5, l. 10, lii. 13, liii. 11; Ez. xxxiv. 23, 24). Of these passages, it was evidently Isaiah lii. and liii., which the prophet had in his mind, as we may see from ver. 9, where the removal of iniquity is mentioned as the especial work of the Messiah. And, *secondly*, he is called צֶמַח *a sprout*. The latter expression contains an allusion to the original lowliness of the Messiah; at first he will resemble, not a proud tree, but a sprout, which grows but gradually into a tree. This is confirmed by the parallel passages, which will be collected at vol. ii. p. 13. Of these passages,

judging from the relation in which Zechariah ordinarily stood to the prophets from whom they are cited, the quotations from Jeremiah (xxiii. 5, xxxiii. 15) and Ezekiel were probably those which he had more particularly in his mind at the time. There is no necessity for assuming, as several commentators have done, that the *sprout* means the sprout of David. The expression denotes the original lowliness of the Messiah as a general fact, and not merely, as in Is. xi. 1, his descent from the family of David, which had fallen into obscurity; though the one was a necessary consequence of the other.[1] The only question that

[1] *Quenstedt's* assertion is incorrect, that "a sprout is a term denoting descent and affiliation . . . and always has reference to the root from which it springs." In Is. liii. 2 the Messiah is also described as a tender sprout, יוֹנֵק, in opposition to a proud tree, without any regard to his descent, but simply as an indication of his original lowliness. *Calvin* says: "he compares Christ to a sprout, because he appeared to spring, as it were, from nothing—because his origin was contemptible. For what pre-eminence did Christ obtain in the world when he was born? How did he found his kingdom? And how was his priesthood inaugurated?" In the *Septuagint* צֶמַח is rendered ἀνατολή, but as *Jerome* has correctly stated (on chap. vi. 12), the word is used in the sense of *sprout*, and not of "a rising light," as many expositors have falsely assumed. The word ἀνατολή is used in the same sense in Ezek. xvi. 7 (ἀνατολὴ τοῦ ἀγροῦ) and xvii. 10. The verb צמח is sometimes rendered ἀνατέλλειν, ἐξανατέλλειν and at other times φύειν, ἀναφύειν and βλαστάνειν, the words being used interchangeably. In Jer. xxxiii. 15 צֶמַח is translated βλαστός (as it is also by *Symmachus* in the same passage), and in Jer xxiii. 5 by βλάστημα (*vid. Marck* exercitt. misc. p. 160 sqq.). It was generally admitted by the earlier Jews that "the servant of the Lord, Zemach" meant the Messiah. In the Chaldee the passage is paraphrased thus: "behold I bring my servant, the Messiah, who will be made manifest." In Echa Rabbati, Zemach is introduced under the name of the Messiah. And in the Christian Church, also, this view was the prevailing one from the very earliest times. There were some of the Church Fathers, however, (*Theodoret in loco*, and, so far as we can gather from his obscure expressions, probably *Eusebius* demonstr. l. 4 c. 17), who were misled by the expression in the parallel passage, chap. vi. 13, "he will build the temple of the Lord," and imagined that Zerubbabel was intended. On another ground, namely, the wish to do away with all references to the Messiah as far as possible, the same opinion is advocated by some of the later Jewish expositors, and also by *Grotius*. The objection generally offered is this, that צֶמַח is a standing term for the Messiah, and is more particularly used by Jeremiah, the forerunner of Zechariah, in this sense; and that some person is promised here, who is *yet to come*, whereas Zerubbabel had already been actively employed for a long time in the new colony; but there is a stronger objection still, namely, that such an interpretation is altogether opposed to the design of the prophecy. What had Zerubbabel to do with a prophecy which was occupied throughout with the priesthood? How could his appearance be specially announced as peculiarly honourable and delightful to the priests, or how could it be represented as a higher good, in contrast with the lower good which had already been

remains to be answered is in what sense the priests are described as types of the Messiah. That which constituted them types cannot possibly have been anything else than the distinguishing characteristic of their office; for the fact that the colleagues of Joshua are associated with him is a sufficient proof that the reference is to his office, and not to his person. Now the peculiar distinction of the priestly office was its mediatorial character; and from the circumstances of the nation, for which it interceded with God, it was occupied chiefly with *obtaining the forgiveness of sins*, by means of sacrifice and prayer. The Messiah therefore could be represented as the antitype of the priesthood, only so far as he was to effect in the most perfect manner that *mediation and expiation* which had been but partially effected by the latter. And this is still further confirmed by the following considerations:—(1.) We have already seen that the nation was *in trouble about the forgiveness of its sins*, and was comforted by the assurance that, notwithstanding the sins, the Lord would not cast away the priesthood. If then the priesthood comes into consideration throughout, solely in connection with the *pardon* of the nation, and if Joshua is introduced as occupied in securing this, what other conclusion can we come to, than that the High Priest, who is promised here as the antitype, is contrasted with the typical High Priest merely in reference to the complete atonement to be effected by him? (2.) The Lord expressly promises in ver. 9 that he will wipe away the sins of the whole land through his servant. (3.) The forgiveness of sins is referred to throughout as a distinguishing characteristic of the Messianic times (Acts x. 43). In Zech. xiii. 1 the prophet describes it as the chief blessing to be conferred upon such as shall look upon him whom they have pierced, that they will possess an open fountain for all sin and uncleanness. But the greatest light is thrown upon this passage by Is. liii., where the Messiah is represented as being at the same time both the true sacrifice and the true High Priest. As the latter, he sprinkles many nations (chap. lii. 15); presents a sin-offering (liii. 10);

bestowed upon them, the confirmation of their office on the part of God? In what respect were the priests types of Zerubbabel? And in what sense could the removal of the sin of the land in *one* day (ver. 9) be attributed to him?

and represents transgressors (ver. 12). The difference between this passage and our own is merely that in the former the means are described by which the High Priest is to effect reconciliation, but not in the latter. And finally, even as early as Ps. cx., the Messiah is represented as a High Priest.

Ver. 9. "*For behold, the stone, that I have laid before Joshua, upon this one stone are seven eyes, I will hew it out, saith the Lord of Sabaoth, and wipe out the iniquity of this land in one day.*"

כי shows that this verse assigns the reason for the statement contained in the clause immediately preceding: "for I bring my servant Zemach;" just as the first כי in ver. 8 introduces the reason for the command to "hear," and the second the reason for the assertion, "they are types." So far as appearances were concerned, there was nothing that indicated the coming of the Messiah. The deplorable condition of the new colony seemed to preclude the least prospect of the fulfilment of such splendid promises (*cf.* chap. iv. 10). Hence the Lord, the Almighty (Jehovah Sabaoth) turns the attention away from what is seen, by pointing to his loving care for the good of his kingdom, as the foundation of the promised blessings.—The *eyes* are the symbol of the powers of God, which are at work both above and within the sphere of creation. In Ezek. i. 18, the felloes of the wheels, which were attached to the cherubs, are described as full of eyes; and according to chap. x. 12, "their whole flesh, and their backs, and their hands and their wings, were full of eyes." In Rev. iv. 8, the four beasts, the representatives of the living creation, which is entirely pervaded with spirits, are said to have been "full of eyes within and round about." According to Rev. v. 6, the lamb had "seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth." And in Zech. iv. 10 the operations of the Spirit of the Lord (compare chap. iv. 6, "by my spirit") are represented under the figure of the seven eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth. It is a matter of comparative indifference, whether the seven eyes, the fulness of the creative power of God, and the whole energy of his Providence, are to be understood as being *upon* the stone, which the original passages in Ezekiel, and the parallel passage in the Revelations, would lead us to suppose, or as directed *towards* the stone, which we might infer from chap. iv.

10, where the seven eyes of the Lord are represented as looking upon the plummet in Zechariah's hand, and where in fact "these seven eyes" are introduced as the same as those already referred to.—The question also arises, what are we to understand by the stone, upon which the seven eyes are described? Early expositors were almost unanimous in referring it to the Messiah. But this cannot be the meaning, as we may see from the expression "which I have laid before Joshua," where the stone is represented as something already in existence, and simply to be ornamented in the future, and also from the words, "I will hew it out." Others speak of the foundation stone of the temple; but we cannot see how this was to be carved. The correct explanation is, that the unhewn stone, which is to be polished and carved by the Lord, is a figurative representation of the nation and kingdom of God, descriptive of its present lowly condition, and the glory, which it is afterwards to receive from the Lord. In this case, the stone is very appropriately described as lying before Joshua, since he had at that time the chief oversight over the church of the Lord (*vid.* ver. 7). On the employment of the figure of a stone to represent the kingdom and people of God, see the notes on Is. xxviii. 16 (vol. 2 p. 155) and the commentary on Ps. cxviii. 22. The antithesis to the insignificant stone referred to here, on which, however, there are seven eyes, is found in the large mountain mentioned in chap. iv. 7, which represents the power of the world. This stone has nothing to do with the precious stones on the shoulders and breast of the High Priest. It is treated rather as an incipient mountain, as in Dan. ii. 35 (compare Jer. li. 63, 64), where the stone also represents the mountain. On the polishing and carving of the rough stone compare Ex. xxviii. 9, 11, and 21, and *Michaelis*, "I will make it into a highly ornamented stone." It consists chiefly in the sending of the Messiah, but without excluding the earlier manifestations of the mercy of God. Through him, according to Haggai's contemporaneous prophecy, (chap. ii. 7—10), the second temple was to be filled with glory, and to be made more glorious than the first.—פְּתֻחֹתָיו פִּתּוּחִים; to open openings, to carve.—מוּשׁ is transitive in this case, in other cases it is intransitive, *recedere*. *This* land; viz. the land of Judah, which is the only place mentioned here, because, although the reconciliation to be effected by the Messiah was to extend farther

than this, and even over the whole Gentile world, the prophet's design throughout this prophecy was simply to comfort the troubled minds of his own people. The expression "in one day," where the day is mentioned as the shortest portion of time, implies that the atonement to be made by the Messiah will not be constantly repeated, like that made by the typical priesthood, but completed in one single action.

Ver. 10. "*On this day, saith the Lord of Hosts, ye will invite one another under the vine, and under the fig-tree.*"

These words contain a figurative description of the repose, the peace, and the prosperity, which are to follow upon the forgiveness of sins obtained by the Messiah. The original passage is in Micah iv. 4.

5. THE CANDLESTICK AND THE TWO OLIVE TREES.

(Chapter iv.)

We must imagine a pause between this vision and the one before it. The interpreter had left the prophet for a short time, and the latter had come back from his ecstacy into the condition of ordinary consciousness. The weakness of human nature, and its inability to bear a vision of supersensual objects for any length of time, had been made manifest in his case; as they afterwards were in that of Peter and his companions, who could not help falling *asleep* during the transfiguration of Christ (Luke ix. 32). "And the angel that talked with me," the prophet says in ver. 1, "came again and waked me as a man that is wakened out of his sleep." We have here the deepest insight into the state in which the prophets were, during their prophecies, as compared with their ordinary condition. The two bear the same relation to each other as sleep and waking. A man's ordinary state, in which he is under the control of the senses, and unable to raise his spiritual eye to the contemplation of divine objects, is one of spiritual sleep; but an ecstatic condition, in which the senses with the whole lower life were quiescent, and only pictures of divine objects were reflected in the soul, as in a pure and untarnished mirror, was one of spiritual waking. This explanation,

which is the only true one, has not been adopted by any of the commentators, with the exception of *Cyril*, who says, "our condition, when compared with that of the angels, is to be regarded as a sleep." The others, as for example *Theodoret*, *Jerome*, and *Vitringa*, have been led astray by their preconceived and erroneous opinions as to the condition of the prophets while they were prophesying. They suppose that, in this case, the prophet was so absorbed in the contemplation of the vision described in chap. iii. that the admonition of the interpreter was needed to direct his attention to the new scene which opened before him. But it is a sufficient objection to this supposition, that it completely overlooks the expression, "the angel came again," and can give no reason for his having gone away.

The new vision which is now presented to the prophet's view is the following. He sees a candlestick of pure gold, and over it an oil-vessel, from which the oil flows into the seven lamps of the candlestick, into each one through seven tubes.[1] On the two sides of the candlestick, and towering above it, stand two olive trees. The interpreter first of all reminds the prophet of his human weakness, and directs his attention to the deep significance of what he saw, by asking him the question, "Knowest thou what this meaneth?" and then proceeds to give the following explanation of its meaning (vers. 6 and 7): "this (this vision, so far as it embodies a prophecy) is the word of the Lord to Zerubbabel: not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of Sabaoth. Who art thou, thou great mountain before Zerubbabel? Into a plain! And he has brought out the foundation-stone with the shouting (of angels, Luke ii. 13), 'Grace, grace unto it.'" (As the foundation of the temple had been laid long before, הוֹצִיא must be rendered as an ordinary preterite [not as a prophecy]: he has brought out, namely in

[1] The number seven occurs so frequently (seven lamps, seven times, seven pipes, seven eyes) that we are led at the outset to expect the form of the narrative to correspond, especially as the whole consists of fourteen verses. These are divided into two sevens, and each of these into two parts of three and four verses respectively. In the first seven we have the vision (ver. 1—3), and a concise explanation (ver. 4—7). In the second we have a further expansion of the fundamental idea contained in the explanation (ver. 8—10), followed by a supplement to the account of the vision, in the shape of an incident which had been passed over before, that the attention might not be diverted from the leading idea (ver. 11—14).

laying the foundation of the temple, as the result will show). Hence the meaning of the vision is this: the interests of the Church are not promoted by human strength, but by the Spirit of God alone, by which it is inspired, defended, and sustained. This truth is applicable to the Church of God in all ages, but the immediate object in setting it forth in symbol at this particular time was to impart consolation to the desponding nation and its head, and thus to give them strength to enter with greater spirit into the work of building the temple. For what did it matter though whole mountains of difficulties stood in the way, and even the gigantic mountain of worldly power rose up to intercept the work,[1] since it did not depend upon the power of man, of which indeed there was none at command, but the Lord had taken the whole upon himself? With this explanation, the general and the particular stand in their proper relation to each other. The immediate fulfilment, in connection with which Zerubbabel was the representative of the family of David, the temple, of the kingdom of God, and the Persian empire, of the worldly power in general, was merely the prelude to the true accomplishment. The great mountain did not become truly a plain till Christ appeared.—We proceed now to enquire in what relation the symbol and its interpretation stand to each other. *Oil* is one of the most clearly defined symbols in the Bible (compare the remarks on Dan. ix. 24). It always represents the Spirit as dwelling in the Church. At the same time it must be noticed that it is the physical, rather than the moral operations of the Spirit, which come into consideration here. Our remarks upon the seven spirits, mentioned in Rev. i. 4, are perfectly applicable to the passage before us: "the seven spirits form here a mighty bulwark against despair, a compact phalanx, by which all the attacks of the world-power upon the Church must be

[1] A mountain is too commonly used as the symbol of a kingdom for us to suppose that, in this instance, the great mountain merely represents difficulties in general (see my commentary on Psalm lxviii. 17 and lxxvi. 5, and on Rev. viii. 18). The same symbol occurs in the books of Zechariah's immediate predecessors Jeremiah (li. 25, 63, 64) and Daniel, the latter of whom describes the stone, which breaks the image, as becoming a great mountain, and filling the whole earth (chap. ii. 35). There is an evident allusion, in the great mountain mentioned here, to the great mountain referred to in Daniel. Whilst the stone in the one case becomes a great mountain, the great mountain in the other turns into a plain.

defeated. The seven spirits press into the service of the Church, delivering and helping, overthrowing and destroying even to the uttermost corners of the earth." If, then, the oil is the Spirit, so far as he dwells in the church, the olive trees can only be the Spirit regarded in his transcendental existence.—The candlestick also is quite as well defined a symbol as the oil. As the vehicle of the Spirit of God, it can only denote the community, the people of the covenant, the Church. In Rev. i. 20 it is expressly stated that "the seven candlesticks are seven churches;" (for the meaning of the candlestick see the commentary *in loc.* and the *Dissertation on the Pentateuch*, vol. ii. p. 528). That the candlestick is entirely composed of the purest metal, namely gold, is a sign of the glory of the Church of God. The great number of tubes, seven for every one of the seven lamps, shows the variety of the channels, by which the mercy and power of God are communicated to his Church, and also the abundance of the supply.[1]

There are many who suppose, that in the description, which the prophet has given of the symbol, he has omitted one circumstance by mistake,—viz., the fact that in the two olive trees there were two branches full of olives, which lay in two *presses* (for this is the way, in which צַנְתְּרוֹת in ver. 12 must be rendered, as we may see among other things from the word בִּיד, which cannot possibly be translated "hard by," as it has been by many expositors[2]), and fed the candlestick with oil,—and that he sup-

[1] Nothing but confusion results from the opinion expressed by *Hitzig* and others, that the seven lamps are the same as the seven eyes of the Lord mentioned in ver. 10. We read there: "for who hath despised the day of small things, for they rejoice and see (equivalent to see with joy) the plummet in the hand of Zerubbabel, these seven, the eyes of the Lord: they run to and fro through the whole earth." "These seven" are already known from having been mentioned in the previous vision (chap. iii. 9), which is closely connected with the one before us (*vid.* ver. 14). But in order to prevent any obscurity, and the possibility of the seven being confounded with the seven lamps in ver. 2, the eyes of the Lord are expressly mentioned again. The eyes are the symbol of the operations of the Spirit of the Lord, the powers of God as manifested both in and above the sphere of nature. These go through the whole earth, to ward off danger on every side from the kingdom of God, and to bring assistance from every quarter.

[2] If the opinion be still adhered to, that צנתרות means pipes or channels, these channels must at all events differ from the מוצקות in ver. 2, as is evident from the difference in the name and in the number, and also from the word בִּיד. In ver. 2 the pipes, referred to, were those which conducted

plies the omission in ver. 11 sqq. But the omission was intentional on his part. If this had been mentioned before, it would have interfered with the general impression produced by the symbol, and obscured its main design. The prophet, therefore, does not call attention to this particular circumstance, till he has received and reported the interpretation of the symbol generally. He enquires first of all, in ver. 11, "what are these *two* olive trees?" The question cannot refer to the meaning of the olive trees in general; for the prophet had already been told that they were symbols of the Spirit of God. It can only relate to the number of the trees. But, before receiving a reply from the angel, the prophet perceives that the number is of no importance, so far as the trees are concerned, but that two trees are introduced simply on account of the two branches. He corrects himself, therefore, and without waiting for an answer enquires in ver. 12, "what do these two ears[1] of the olive trees mean, which are in the two golden presses?" and the fact that he receives from the interpreter a reply to the second question, but not to the first, shows that the number of the olive trees was not in itself a point of any importance. The answer runs thus: "they are the two sons of oil,[2] which stand before the Lord of the whole earth." עמד with על literally means to stand over any one, but here it is used in the sense of serving; the servants stand by the Lord who is seated; compare Is. vi. 1, 2, "the Lord *sat* upon a lofty throne; . . . seraphim *stood over* him," that is they stood by his side so as to rise above the seated Lord.

The question arises now, who were these two sons of oil, the

the oil from the vessel to the lamps; here, on the other hand, the channels could only be those, by which the oil was conducted into the vessel itself. If we imagine these to have been open at the top, there would be no difficulty in explaining the word ביד. The two olive branches lie in the channels.

[1] *Kimchi* says, "he compares the branches of the olives to ears, because, as the latter are full of grains of corn, so the former were full of olives."

[2] יִצְהָר, a noun formed from the third person future of צָהַר "it shines" (*lit.* the shining one), is a rhetorical, or poetical name for oil. It serves to indicate the relation in which יִצְהָר stands to the ordinary word שֶׁמֶן, that the former only occurs once in the first four books of the Pentateuch, whereas the latter is met with very frequently; on the other hand יִצְהָר is used more frequently than שֶׁמֶן in the Book of Deuteronomy, in harmony with the style of this book, which is generally more elevated than that of any of the others.

servants of the Lord κατ' ἐξοχήν? Many commentators supp
them to have been Zerubbabel and Joshua. And certainly
very strong argument may be adduced in support of this opini
We cannot possibly be left to that species of conjecture, in wh
some indulge, who think of Haggai (a person never once nam
and Zechariah. On the contrary we must look to the cont
for more precise information. Now in chap. iii. Joshua
High Priest is represented as "standing before the Lord,"
in this very chapter Zerubbabel comes to his side as his collea
(ver. 14 is the connecting link between chap. iii. and iv.). T
are both introduced, just like the two sons of oil in this case.
the persons by whom the whole covenant-nation is represent
the medium through which it receives the grace of God. It
certain, however, that these two, considered merely as indi
duals, cannot possibly be intended, but that they are regar
rather in their ideal character, as types and representatives;
the simple reason, that the supply of oil for the candlestick,
communication of divine grace to the Church, cannot possibly
made to depend upon the lives of two frail and mortal men.
is with justice, therefore, that it has been assumed by othe
that the two sons of oil denote the two offices of priest and ki
(or rather the sacerdotal and civil authorities in general), wh
were principally employed in the economy of the Old Testam
as instruments of the grace of God, and of which Joshua
Zerubbabel were the existing representatives. These were
only orders which could be called sons of oil (a phrase desc
tive of the grace of office bestowed upon them by God, which
symbolised by the ceremony of anointing), the only orders wh
had really been anointed with oil at the very outset. W
reference to the High Priest, compare the important passag
Lev. xxi. 12. The fact that the practice of anointing
dropped in the case of the civil authorities after the captiv
does not affect the question. They had been anointed in
persons of their predecessors in office, and the grace of o
which the symbol expressed, they still retained. *And the di*
intention of the present symbolical representation was to ass
both the High Priests and civil authorities, that this was
fact; and by this assurance to comfort and gladden the he
of the people, who fancied that God had forsaken them.

civil and ecclesiastical authorities were still to be what they had previously been, the medium by which the Lord conveyed his blessings to his Church. But the promise received its most complete fulfilment in the coming of Christ, who is described in chap. vi. as combining both offices, that of High Priest as well as King, in his own person, who is specially referred to as High Priest in chap. iii. and as King in chap. ix., and through whom the oil of Divine grace was poured into the candlestick of the Church, in infinitely greater abundance than through any of the previous servants of God.

6. THE FLYING ROLL.

(Chap. v. 1—4.)

This vision and the one which follows are mournful in their character. Like the eleventh chapter, they show that it was not the prophet's object to urge forward the building of the temple at any cost, but that his main design was rather to lead the people to repentance and faith; in which case zeal for the outward work, which was already commenced, would follow as a matter of course. Stimulated by Ezek. ii. 10, the prophet now sees a flying roll, twenty cubits long and ten cubits broad. These dimensions correspond exactly to those of the porch of the temple (1 Kings vi. 3). This can hardly be accidental. The porch, the outermost portion of the actual temple, was the spot from which God was supposed to hold intercourse with his people, just as Solomon judged the people in the porch of his palace (1 Kings vii. 7). Hence the altar of burnt-offering stood before the porch, in the forecourt of the priests; and when any great calamity fell upon the land, the priests approached still nearer to the porch to offer their prayers, that they might, as it were, embrace the feet of their angry Father, Joel ii. 17. By giving to the flying roll, the symbol of the divine judgments upon the covenant-nation, the same dimensions as those of the porch, the prophet appears to intimate that these judgments were a direct result of the theocracy. It may be, however, that the peculiar nature of the porch does not come into consideration, and that the only point of importance is the fact that the dimensions are

borrowed from one part of the temple. There is writing on both sides (מִזֶּה וּמִזֶּה) of the roll, as was the case, according to Ex. xxxii. 15, from which the expression itself is borrowed, with the tables of the law, and also with the roll in Ezek. ii. 9, 10. On one side stand the curses against those who abuse the name of the Lord to purposes of perjury; on the other the curses against thieves. (נִקָּה, to clean, is used here in the sense of wiping clean away; *cf.* Is. iii. 26). The former are adduced as examples of those who broke the commandments of the first table, the latter of those who violated the second; so that one side of the roll contained the judgment of God against the transgressors of the command, "thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart," and the other the judgments against the transgressors of the command, "thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."[1]—This curse is to go out over the whole land, it is not merely to touch the wicked in a superficial and passing manner, but to consume them utterly and for ever with all they have and are. In the expression, "he consumes their house and its wood and its stones," there is an allusion to 1 Kings xviii. 38. We have here, therefore, an announcement of a new and terrible judgment from God, which was to fall upon Judea, when the ungodliness that already existed in the germ, even in the time of the prophet, should have taken root and put forth branches. It is still further explained in chap. xi., how this ungodliness would lead the people to reject the good shepherd, and thus deprive them of the last means of deliverance.

7. THE EPHAH AND THE WOMAN SITTING IN THE MIDST OF IT.

(Chap. v. 5—11.)

The interpreter, who had gone away for a time to join the choir of the heavenly angels, comes back to the prophet, to explain to him the meaning of another vision. The expression, "the Angel of the Lord went forth," indicates the opening of a new scene and the occurrence of a pause between the two visions.

[1] *Baumgarten* has pointed out the fact, that the prophet selects the middle command from each of the tables.

The prophet sees a form rise up as it were out of a mist, but is not able to distinguish what it is. The interpreter tells him: "*this is the ephah that goeth forth*," not, "this which goeth forth is an ephah," for the grammatical construction does not admit of this. According to ver. 3, "going forth" is equivalent to appearing. We must not follow Jonathan, who understands it as meaning *false* measures. The meaning of the symbol is rather, "Israel will fill up the measure of its iniquity." The ephah, which was one of the largest measures, was peculiarly adapted to symbolise this thought. That it is sin which we are to understand as filling the measure, is not to be gathered from the symbol itself, but from its relation to the previous vision, the two visions forming a pair. The idea of there being a culminating point in the course of sin, a point at which it brings punishment irresistibly in its train, occurs as early as in Gen. xv. 16; and in Matt. xxiii. 32 the Lord refers particularly to the measure being filled. The words of the Angel, "*this is their eye in the whole land*," may be most simply explained to mean, the efforts of the whole nation are directed to the filling up of the measure of its sin. עין is not "appearance," but "*eye*;" compare chap. ix. 1, "the Lord is the eye of men," for, "the eye of the Lord is directed towards men."—On closer examination the prophet perceives, that there is a woman sitting in the ephah; "*this* (equivalent to *behold*) *a woman sitting in the midst of the ephah*" (ver. 7). From the fact that the woman is mentioned for the first time here, it is evident that she must have just come into the ephah. Up to this time the woman had not shown herself at all. In the 6th verse *their* eye (viz., that of the children of Israel) is spoken of; the nation therefore is still regarded according to its *actual plurality*, and not according to its *ideal unity*. The causal connexion between sin and punishment is represented to the eye by the fact that the woman is obliged to fill with her own body the ephah, which she has already filled with her sins. The interpreter informs the prophet that the woman is ungodliness (*cf.* Mal. i. 4), the ungodly Jewish nation is called wickedness,[1] like the ungodly Athaliah Mirshaat in 2 Chr. xxiv. 7. The woman is thrown down into the ephah, in which

[1] The opinion has obtained currency, that by *wickedness* here we are to understand wickedness in itself, and not as incorporated in Israel, in which

she was at first sitting up so as to rise above it, and a heavy weight is laid upon her,—a symbolical representation of the fact, that the Lord, by means of his judgments, would restrain the nation in its course of sin.[1] Two women appear with wings, and carry the ephah through the air with the speed of the wind into the land of Shinar. The ephah is deposited there, and it is assigned to the woman as her permanent dwelling place.—The *women* unboubtedly represent the instruments to be employed by God in the punishment of his people, namely, hostile nations, such as the Babylonians had formerly been. The number *two* forms part of the symbol, and has nothing to do with the thing signified. The weight of the ephah was so great, that it took two persons to carry it. In the description of the women as having *wings like the wings of a stork*, the size of the stork is the only point considered. The other comparisons that have been suggested are so far-fetched, that they can be nothing but guesses. *Jonathan* has given a correct explanation of the meaning of the whole symbolical representation: "swift people carry them swiftly away." Commentators have found great difficulty in explaining why the land of Shinar is mentioned, as that into which the Israelites are transported. *Rosenmüller* was led to

case the whole prophecy is changed from a threat into a promise. According to *Baumgarten*, the leading idea is the "restoration of the congregation of the saints by the removal of impurity." But a comparison of the analogous verses 1—4 will show that this cannot be the meaning. The punishment of *persons* is spoken of there; and just as we have in that case a representation of the punishment to be inflicted upon the sinners *in* the land, so have we here a representation of their removal *from* the land. A comparison of chap. xi., which is of great importance from the connexion between the emblematical portion and chap ix.—xiv., leads to the same conclusion. Moreover, it is only concrete sin, sin in individuals, that admits of being carried away. The transportation of sin, apart from sinful individuals, is nonsense. Such an explanation breaks down the boundary which separates prophecy from poetry. But it is a sufficient objection to this explanation that it is impossible to understand why the sin should be taken to the land of Shinar particularly. However, the wavering and multiplicity of conjectures, which distinguish these commentators, is in itself a proof, that they have no firm ground to stand upon. On the other hand, the allusion to Israel is conspicuous in the evident reference to the Babylonish captivity, which appears to the prophet as revived. Shinar is mentioned in Is. xi. 11, and Dan. i. 2, as the scene of Israel's punishment and the land of exile.

[1] The analogous terms כִּכַּר כֶּסֶף, זָהָב suffice to prove that כִּכָּר means a talent, the largest weight in use among the Hebrews. The sense in which the word נִישָּׂא occurs in ver. 9 shows that the proper rendering is, "a talent of lead was lifted up."

infer that the prophet is describing a past event, namely, the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, and not predicting a future one. But such a supposition is thoroughly untenable. All the rest of Zechariah's visions relate to the future. Why should this be the sole exception? In the vision immediately preceding this, a coming judgment is foretold. Why should this relate to times gone by? Moreover, the sojourn in Shinar, mentioned in ver. 11, is represented as of long duration and final in its character, in contrast with the other which was but short. Forced explanations, such as these and others like them, only betray a want of acquaintance with the essential character of the prophetic visions, and the custom, which the prophets adopted in consequence, of representing future events by images drawn from the past, and at the same time transferring to the former the names which belonged to the latter. We have a striking example of this custom in the case before us, an example, not only which cannot be set aside by any objections, but which serves to rebut many of the attacks upon the genuineness of the second part, to which the ignorance referred to has given rise. The future dwelling place of the Jews, who were to be banished from their country, is called by the name of the land in which they were captives before, just as in chap. x. 11, their future oppressors are called by the names of Assyria and Egypt.

8. THE FOUR CHARIOTS.

(Chap. vi. 1—8).

This vision is closely connected with the preceding one, so far as the actual substance is concerned. As the Lord has judged his unfaithful nation, so will he also judge the heathen world, which raises itself in hostility to his kingdom. Compare the more detailed remarks in chaps. xii.—xiv. In these we find the parallels to this vision. In fact there is a remarkable parallelism, throughout, between the visions of the first part and the prophecies of the second, which we shall allude to more fully by and by.

Let us now look more particularly at the form, in which this revelation is communicated to the prophet.

He sees four chariots (verse 1). He is instructed as to their meaning by the interpreter, who tells him, "these are the four winds of heaven, which go forth, after they have stood serving before the Lord of the whole earth." The less intelligible symbol of the four chariots is explained by the well understood, and clearly defined symbol of the winds, the meaning of which could be easily discovered, especially from Zechariah's immediate predecessors. The four winds of heaven serve as symbols of the divine judgments. The judgments of God which break forth on all sides are represented in Jeremiah also (chap. xlix. 36) under the image of the four winds: "and upon Elam will I bring the four winds from the four quarters of heaven, and will scatter them towards all those winds." In Dan. vii. 2, the four winds of heaven are described as being "let loose upon the Great Sea," —a representation of the judgments to be executed by the great conquerors of the world. In Rev. vii. 1, four angels are said to "stand at the four corners of the earth, holding the four winds of the earth," indicating that the tempests of the divine judgments will break forth on every side. And, lastly, in Ezek. i. 4, the violent storm from the north denotes the judgment, which issues from Babylon and falls upon Judah.— According to ver. 5, the four winds come from "the Lord of the whole earth." We must therefore imagine the mountains as surrounding the dwelling place of God. The fact that the mountains are said to be of *brass* is a clear proof of their ideal character, and therefore of the error into which many have fallen, who suppose that the allusion is to Zion and Moriah, whereas in reality these mountains never occur in the Scriptures in such a connexion. The article shows, that the mountains have already been mentioned elsewhere. And it can hardly refer to any thing else than the words of the 125th Psalm, which was sung at the very time when the building of the temple was interrupted, "round about Jerusalem are mountains, and the Lord is round about his people." By these words the mountains round Jerusalem were constituted a symbol of the divine protection, which is extended over his Church. Hence, *the* mountains are the spiritual mountains of the divine protection, which are said in Ps. cxxv. to be round about his people. The fact that there are two mountains shows that they are protected on both sides. They are said to be *of brass*, to indicate that the Lord surrounds his

kingdom with a protecting wall of impregnable strength. And finally, that the description is figurative throughout, and cannot be understood as announcing that the temple will be still standing, at the time when the judgments fall upon the nations of the earth, is evident partly from this description of the mountains, and partly from the previous chapter, where we find the prediction that Jerusalem will be completely destroyed, and the people led away into captivity before the destruction of the nations commences.

The colour of the horses is just as significant in this passage as in chap. i. It indicates that the chariots are destined to execute judgment upon the enemies of God. The meaning of three of the colours is evident enough. As we have shown at chap. i., *red* is the colour of blood, *black* of mourning, and *white* indicates a glorious victory over the enemies of the kingdom of God. From these analogies it necessarily follows, that the colour of the *speckled* horses must also have a meaning. The word literally means *hail-like (Gousset: χαλαζούμενοι, grandinati h. e. punctis notati quasi grandineis globulis). Hail* in the Scriptures is frequently employed as a figurative representation of the divine judgments, which fall upon the ungodly. Compare Rev. viii. 7 (where the seer beholds the devastations of war, which overtake the ungodly world, concentrated into a great hail-storm); Ezek. xiii. 11; Is. xxxii. 19; and Rev. xvi. 21.

After the description of the *colour* of the horses belonging to the fourth chariot, there follows a second predicate, אמצים. There can be no doubt as to the meaning of this word; it can only signify *powerful.* Now from the position in which the horses of the fourth chariot stand, this predicate cannot apply to them in contrast with those of the other three chariots, but must in fact belong equally to the whole; although only formally connected with the fourth. This is confirmed by ver. 7, where the same predicate is applied in a peculiar manner to the horses of the first chariot, in accordance with the position in which they stand.

After obtaining from the interpreter an answer to his question, as to the meaning of the four chariots (vers. 4, 5), the prophet proceeds to describe the direction which, by his inward sight, he saw them take. "*The chariot with the black horses went to the*

north country, and the white followed them, and the speckled went to the south country. And when the strong ones went forth, they desired to go through the whole earth, and the Lord said, depart and go through the earth, and they went through the earth." The difficulty, by which commentators have been induced to resort to the most forced interpretations, arises from the fact that the black horses of the second chariot are mentioned first, and the red horses of the first chariot appear to be entirely overlooked. But on closer examination the difficulty vanishes. The red horses of the first chariot are *the* strong ones[1] mentioned here (the principal cause of the mistakes into which the commentators have fallen is their having overlooked the article); *the strong ones*, that is those in comparison with which the others were to be regarded as weak, although in themselves they were really strong and this epithet had already been applied to some of them, in other words, the strongest among them. They are mentioned last, because in the consciousness of their strength they were not content, like the rest, with one particular portion of the earth, but asked permission of the Lord to go through the whole earth. The idea intended to be expressed is, that the judgment was to be a universal one, and not a single portion of the earth was to be spared.

The chariot with the black horses and the one with the white both go to the north country. There must be a reason for this quarter being expressly mentioned, and for the two chariots going thither. The inhabitants of the north country,—an expression applied throughout to the Babylonians and Assyrians (*vid.* chap. ii. 10, 11),—had been in past times the most dangerous enemies of the covenant-nation. Hence the prophet uses them as a type of the future enemies of the Church. Shinar is employed in the same way in the previous chapter, as a type and figure.

Pretty nearly the same may be said of the south country. To the south of Palestine dwelt the Egyptians (Dan. xi. 5), the first

[1] To *Hofmann's* question, "how do we know that the red horses were the strongest?" it is a sufficient reply, that the red alone remained, and that it was all the more impossible that they could be overlooked, since they took the lead in the whole series. They must, therefore, of necessity be tacitly implied in *the* strong ones, and this is confirmed by the fact that if the horses of all the four chariots were strong, it might be presupposed, that those of the *first* chariot would be *the* strong among the strong.

oppressors of the people of God, who are classed by Zechariah on other occasions with the enemies from the north, as a type of the future enemies of the nation (compare chap. x. 10, 11). The fact that only *one* chariot goes to them represents them as comparatively less steeped in guilt, their oppression appearing in a less glaring light on account of the distance of time.

The vision concludes with an explanation, given by the Lord to the prophet, of the reason why the chariots are sent away. "Behold, those that go to the north country quiet my spirit in the north country." We have no right to substitute wrath for *spirit*, on the ground of such passages as Ezek. v. 13, xvi. 42. The Spirit of God is introduced in chap. iv. 6, 7, and Rev. i. 4, as the power which sustains the weakness of the Church and removes all the hindrances that the world places in its way. According to Is. iv. 4 it is by the Spirit that the Lord executes his judgments on the earth. This Spirit of God is quieted in the north country, with regard to its operations and the manifestations of its power, namely, the judgments which it executes there. The necessity for this closing explanation arose from the fact that the symbol of the chariots had been explained in ver. 5, not in a literal manner, but by a figure, which was less obscure, no doubt, than the symbol, but still required a further elucidation, the design throughout being to furnish the means of obtaining such a clue to the meaning of the symbol, as should be unexceptionally certain. The explanation applies, it is true, directly to only one quarter, and that the quarter which, as we have already observed, was the principal mark of the judgments of God. But the prophet could easily infer from this, what must be the destination of the others, which were sent out under similar circumstances.

9. THE CROWN ON JOSHUA'S HEAD.

(Chap. vi. 9—15).

The future history of the kingdom of God, which the prophet had just described, and the judgment upon both the former people of the covenant and the other nations of the earth, had

their origin and source in the promised "Anointed of the Lord," whose appearance is presupposed. That the attention of the prophet, and consequently that of the nation, may be directed to Him, He is presented once more to the prophet's inward sight towards the close of his ecstatic condition; and, as the last words show, with this pleasant and at the same time terrible image, the whole series of visions, the contents of which in some way or other all referred to Him, are brought to a close.

The section consists of seven verses, divided into three and four, the first portion containing the symbolical action, the second the interpretation.

There is a close connexion with the previous visions, as the absence of any reference to a difference of time sufficiently shows. And the opening words, "it came to pass," lead to the same conclusion. But it does not stand on a perfect equality with the previous sections, as we may see from the double number four, which serves to show that they are complete in themselves, an arrangement which there is less reason for regarding as possibly accidental, on account of the new commencement being clearly pointed out in the case of the second section in chap. iv. 1, and also from the fact that there is no vision in this case, and therefore no interpreter, but a direct message from the Lord, containing instructions to perform a symbolical action.

Ver. 9. "*And the word of the Lord came to me:* (Ver. 10) *Take from the captives from Cheldai, from Tobiah, from Jedaiah, going on that day into the house of Josiah, the son of Zephaniah, whither they are come from Babylon;* (Ver. 11) *take silver and gold and make crowns, and place them on the head of Joshua, the son of Jehozadak, the High Priest.*"

The Jews, who had remained behind in Babylon in great numbers, when they heard of the recommencement of the building of the temple, which had taken place five months before, sent messengers to Jerusalem with contributions. This is not necessarily implied, it is true, in the expression "of the captives," or of the exiles, in ver. 10; for הַגּוֹלָה is sometimes applied in the Book of Ezra, not to those who were still in exile, but to those who had already returned, and who are commonly called "the sons of the captives." But it clearly follows from the close of ver. 10, where it is expressly stated that the persons men-

tioned had come from Babylon, and where the name of their host in Jerusalem is given.[1] It is also implied in ver. 15. The representatives of the "captives" are there exhibited, as a type of the distant heathen nations, who would one day be actively engaged in promoting the erection of the temple, or church of God. But this type vanishes, if we understand the captivity as meaning the exiles who had long since returned. In ver. 10 we have, first of all, the simple infinitive לקוח, a sign that further details are to follow. As the verb is separated from its object by a particular account of those, from whom the things referred to were to be taken, it is repeated for the sake of greater perspicuity. מאת הגולה is placed before the names of the different individuals, to show that they had not come on their own account, but as representatives and messengers of a whole body, namely, of the Jews who were still in exile; just as Sherezer and Regem-melech are introduced in chap. vii. 2 as the messengers of the Jews of Palestine, and say in the name of the whole nation, "shall I weep," &c. (ver. 3). The representative character of the individuals referred to had an important bearing upon the object, which the prophet had in view. It was only in this character, that they could fitly be used as a type of the heathen nations. From ver. 14, where the crowns are said to be placed upon the heads of the persons named for a memorial, *Maurer* and others would infer that the gifts were presented by those who brought them. But all that can be gathered from this verse is, that they were the spiritual centre of the whole transaction, and had probably contributed the largest proportion of the collection that had been made. Moreover, as the גולה was not an organised body, the deputation must not be regarded as having been *formally* appointed. The "wise men from the East" were delegates from the heathen world, though they had not received any formal appointment.—In the prophet's estimation the names of the messengers are just as typical as their persons. He regards them as indicative of the distinguishing

[1] It is a decisive objection to the rendering "and of Josiah, the son of Zephaniah, who are come from Babylon, going into the house of the latter," which makes Josiah one of the messengers, that in this case he could not have had a house in Jerusalem. It will subsequently appear, however, that the host was a party concerned.

characteristics of those, whom the individuals themselves represented, and of the blessings they were destined to receive. This is apparent from ver. 14. Two of the representatives are called there by different names from those mentioned here; though they have precisely the same signification. חֶלְדַּי *(Cheldai) the robust* (from חלד = خلد, *perennavit, sempiternus fuit, vegeta viridique senectute fuit*),[1] is called there חֵלֶם the strong, from חלם to be strong. *Josiah* ("God founds or supports"), from אשׁשׁ = אשׁה *to found*, from which אֲשִׁישָׁה, *a support* (Jer. l. 15), is derived, is called there חֵן *favour (cf.* chap. iv. 7, xii. 10; Zechariah uses the word חֵן exclusively with reference to the grace of God). The change, which is intentionally made in the first and last names, is designed to show that the names are not used as current coin, but are to be taken in their primary signification. No further proof need be given that the other names, *Tobiah* (goodness of God),[2] *Jedaiah* (God knows), and *Zephaniah* (God conceals, Ps. cxxvii. 5), were also adapted to the prophet's design.—On בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *Michaelis* justly observes: "On that day, namely the day on which thou art to perform what I now command. Perhaps God had fixed a particular day in the vision, which the prophet did not think it so necessary to mention in his account of the vision itself."—*Take silver and gold and make crowns.* The prophet is to ask for as much of the silver and gold, which they had brought with them, as would be required to carry out the instructions given by the Lord. Commentators differ as to the number of crowns to be made. The majority are in favour of two, on the ground that otherwise the type would not correspond to the fact, or to the prophecy which follows, in which the combination of the royal and high-priestly dignity in the person of the Messiah is announced. But *Marck* has said with perfect justice in reply to this argument: "ad sacerdotium cogitandum non ducit heic corona, sed persona et munus Josuae." We cannot see why

[1] That the primary meaning of חלד is that of duration has been already shown at Ps. xvii. 14. *Jeuhari* says: de homine dicitur חלד quando persistit et viget.

[2] Jod in proper names is usually a connecting vowel and not a suffix.

ıother type should be introduced of the very same thing, of hich Joshua himself was a type already, as chap. iii. expressly ows. Moreover, there is not the slightest intimation of there ing two crowns;—certainly not in the fact that there were o metals, which might just as well be made into one crown, or :n into several, as into two.—Lastly, it is very questionable ether the head-dress of the high priest could be called עֲטָרָה, crown), a name which is never applied to it. The choice, there- e, lies between two opinions; the first, that only one crown s to be made; the other, that there were several. The plural עֲטָרִים cannot be adduced in support of the latter. For the ıral may properly serve to show the glory of the crown; or ıy be explained from the fact that kings of kings had a dif- ent crown from ordinary monarchs, namely one composed of 'eral crowns or diadems. The plural is undoubtedly used for e crown in Job xxxi. 36: "I will bind it on me as a crown," ıere a *composite* crown must necessarily be alluded to, just as Rev. xix. 12 (*καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ διαδήματα πολλά*) ırist is said to wear, not many separate diadems, but many ıdems joined together as a sign of his royal dignity. The use the word *Ataroth*, as the name of a city, is also a proof that : plural was applied to *one* crown. The description of Sama- , in Is. xxviii. 1, as a crown *of glory*, corresponds to this. e are also led to the conclusion that there was but *one* crown, 'tly by the fact that a plurality would be both unmeaning l unsuitable, partly by the command to place it on the head of : man, Joshua, and partly also by the singular verb which fol- 's the plural עטרות in ver. 14, though the latter alone would be decisive.—Thus far we have simply a prophecy embodied ı symbolical action.[1] Let us inquire how much of this would intelligible to Joshua and his enlightened contemporaries, ırt from the verbal prophecy, which follows. It must have n perfectly clear, that the crowning denoted the conferring of al dignity. But with this the idea, that the acted prophecy

[1] Why was the crown not placed upon Zerubbabel's head? In that case the ing idea, namely, the union of the royal and high-priestly dignity, would have been expressed. But could not the priestly diadem have been ed upon Zerubbabel? Certainly, but Zerubbabel was not a king. He could therefore, have represented the royal dignity of the Messiah in his own on, as Joshua represented his high-priestly character.

related to him as an individual, completely vanished. The royal government could never be diverted from the family of David without setting at nought the promises of God, which had been given to him. Joshua, therefore, could have no doubt that the crown was placed upon his head as the type of another. Who this was, could not possibly be to him a matter of doubt, since he had shortly before been greeted as the type of the Messiah (chap. iii.), and the Melchizedek-priesthood of the Messiah, that is, the union in his person of the two characters of high-priest and king, had been already announced to David (Ps. cx.). But if any uncertainty remained, it was removed by the verbal prophecy which followed. The object of this was to explain the previous symbolical action in two respects, first, as to the meaning of Joshua's coronation, and, secondly, as to the reason, why the material, of which this crown was composed, was to be obtained from the messengers and representatives of the brethren at a distance. The explanation of the first is contained in ver. 12, 13, that of the second in ver. 14, 15.

Ver. 12. "*And say to him: thus saith the Lord of hosts: behold there is a man, whose name is The Sprout, and from his place he will sprout up and build the temple of the Lord.*"

The prophecy is placed by the side of the symbolical action as if it was independent of it, though the meaning is precisely the same. הִנֵּה points to the Messiah as if he were present, and calls to Joshua, who represented him in name as well as office, to fix his mental eye upon him. The manner in which the word צֶמַח is introduced here, viz., as a proper name of the Messiah, though with a direct allusion to its literal meaning as is apparent from what follows, points back to earlier prophecies, in which the Messiah is represented as a *Sprout* of David to be raised up by the Lord, and particularly to that of Jeremiah (see the remarks on chap. iii.). מִתַּחְתָּיו יִצְמָח is explanatory of צֶמַח. The great promised One will rightfully bear the name of *Sprout;* for he himself will *sprout up* joyfully, and for that very reason *it will also sprout forth under him.* There is only one other passage in which מתחתיו occurs, viz., Ex. x. 23: "And they did not rise up, every one from under him," that is, from that which he had under him. The mean-

ing in this passage, therefore, is "*from under him*," equivalent to "from his place." *Alting* understands it as referring "both to the nation (from the house of David, Judah, and Abraham, to whom the promises were made), and also to the country." The expression, "*he will sprout up from his soil*" denotes the prosperity of Christ. At the same time, it presupposes the lowliness, from which he will first rise by degrees to glory. There are some who do not take the Messiah to be the subject of יצמח; *e.g.*, *Luther*, "it will grow under him;" *Calov*, "under him and his kingdom everything will spring up and flourish." But this is incorrect. The introduction of a different subject from the noun immediately preceding is in itself objectionable; and the parallel passage in Jeremiah, which the prophet had before his mind (chap. xxxiii. 15), "behold I cause a righteous *Sprout* to sprout up unto David," is a proof that, as it is the Messiah, whom the Lord there causes to sprout up, it is also the Messiah, who is described as sprouting up in the passage before us. Moreover, in the rendering referred to, the מן in מתחתיו, which cannot mean "under him," is overlooked.—*He builds the temple of the Lord.* That there can be no reference here to the building of the outward temple, as Jewish commentators have dreamt, has been very clearly shown by *Reuss* (in the learned dissertation, *qua orac. Zach.* vi. 12, 13, *expl.*, in his collected works, vol. i. p. 1—156). The building of an outward temple is never ascribed to the Messiah. In chap. iv. 10, the prophet promises in the name of God, that the temple, which had been begun by Zerubbabel, should also be completed by him, and according to his predecessor Haggai (chap. ii. 7—9) and his successor Malachi (chap. iii. 1), this same temple was to be glorified by the presence of the Messiah. Still the building of the temple, and the high-priesthood of the Messiah, must stand in a certain relation to each other. If, then, the purification to be effected by the latter was not of an outward, but an inward character, and if this was to be accomplished not by the blood of animals, but by the blood of the High Priest himself, a fact of which the prophet could not have been ignorant after his diligent study of the earlier prophecies (*cf.* Is. liii.), and with which chap. xii. and xiii. actually prove him to have been well

acquainted,—so also here, when the prophet is led by the building of the temple, which was in progress at the time, to speak of the Messiah as performing a similar work, his words must be understood figuratively, especially as it was a common custom with him to start from the shadow of the good things to come, and then rise to the good things themselves, to set forth the future under the figure of the present, and apply to things, that had yet to come, the names which really belonged to those already in existence.—Moreover it is to be observed, that it is not stated here that the Messiah will build *a* temple to the Lord, but *the* temple of the Lord. Thus the temple is represented as still in existence, and always the same, but destined to be elevated by the Messiah to a state of glory, surpassing any that had ever been thought of before. Let us examine now, in what sense the building of a temple is ascribed to the Messiah. Under the Old Testament, the temple was the seat of the kingdom of God; it was in this, and not in the walls, or any other outward thing connected with it, that the very idea of the temple consisted. And for that reason, it was admirably adapted to be the type and figurative representation of the kingdom of God itself, that is of the Church, which did not commence with the coming of Christ, but was essentially the same under both the Old and New Testaments.[1] Solomon and Zerubbabel had helped to build this temple; inasmuch as their outward efforts proceeded from faith, and were directed not to the outward edifice, to the shell merely, but to the kernel, which continued to exist, when the shell had long been destroyed. For proofs that the tabernacle and temple bore a symbolical character, and were symbols of the kingdom of God in Israel, see the remarks in the present volume on Zech. xl.—xlviii. With Ezekiel, who had depicted the restoration of the kingdom of God under the form of the restoration and glorification of the temple, Zechariah is closely connected; and in chap. vii. 2, he calls the congregation the *house* of God.

Ver. 13. "*And he will build the temple of the Lord, and he*

[1] "The temple of God is one, namely the Church of the saved, originating in the promise given in paradise, and lasting to the end of the world." *Cocceius.*

will wear majesty; and he sits and rules upon his throne, and is prince upon his throne, and the counsel of peace will be between them both."

The repetition of the expression, "and he will build the temple," is not uncalled for. In this instance the words refer to the clause which follows, "and he will wear majesty;" as the word והוא, which is repeated in the two clauses, clearly shows. They call attention to the fact that the Messiah, who will be clothed with majesty, may be expected to build a far nobler temple, to glorify the kingdom of God in a far higher degree, than the poor and lowly Zerubbabel, and his companion in lowliness, Joshua. They opened, therefore, a plenteous source of consolation for those who mourned over the weak and insignificant origin of the new colony; they turned their attention away from the miserable present and directed it to a glorious future. —The words, "he will wear majesty," are explanatory of the symbolical act of placing the crown upon Joshua's head. הוד is used to denote royal majesty in particular; *vide* 1 Chr. xxix. 25, "and the Lord magnified Solomon, and bestowed upon him royal majesty and glory (הוֹד מַלְכוּת), which had not been on any king before him;" Dan. xi. 21, "to whom they shall not give royal majesty" (הוד מלכות); also Jer. xxii. 18; Ps. xxi. 6, and viii. 6, where man is represented as appointed by God to be an under-king. And in the passage before us the reference to the symbolical action, as well as what follows, show that it is in this special sense that the word has been employed. Many render the clause, "he will receive majesty," and *Reuss* has taken great pains to defend this rendering. But there are many other passages, in which majesty and glory are represented as something worn by rulers, something existing upon their heads, with special reference to the *insignia* of royalty, namely the crown. See, for example, in addition to the passages just cited from the Chronicles, Daniel, and the Psalms, Num. xxvii. 20, "thou bestowest on him of thy glory מהודך." Such a description was all the more natural here, since the prophet had Joshua before him at the time, wearing on his head the crown, the *insignia* of royalty. In what follows, the expression, "he will wear majesty," is more fully carried out. There is first the royal supremacy,

Then the kingly glory is heightened, by the fact that the dignity of High Priest is associated with that of King. The expressions "*he sits*" and "*he rules*" differ in this respect: the former denotes the possession of the honour and dignity of a king, the latter the actual exercise of royal authority.—The suffix in כִּסְאוֹ is supposed by many, particularly *Vitringa* (obss. s. 1. p. 317) and *Reuss* to refer to Jehovah. But the close connection between the first and second עַל־כִּסְאוֹ is thereby overlooked. This connection shows that the emphasis is not to be laid upon the suffix, but that the prophet's intention was to give especial prominence to the idea that the Messiah would be both King and High Priest, upon one and the same throne. This truth was a very consolatory one to the covenant nation. It furnished a guarantee that its future head would have both the power and will to assist. As a true High Priest the Messiah was to appear before God as the representative of his people, and procure for them the forgiveness of sins. This the prophet himself has already more fully announced in chap. iii. As a true king, of whose glory all that preceded him had been but a very imperfect type, he was to protect them when forgiven, and in general to bestow upon them all the blessings, which God had appointed for them. In the primary passage also (Ps. cx.), the glorious kingdom of the Messiah is mentioned first, and then his high-priesthood. According to the irrevocable decree of God he is not only a King, he is also a High Priest for ever, and as such he cleanses his people from their sins.—*Hitzig* and others render the words, "and there is a priest upon his throne;" and regard it as an announcement of the fact, that a glorious High Priest will arise *by the side* of the Messiah. But it is a sufficient reply to this, that the mere mention of a priest would convey no meaning whatever. The reference in this case would not be to a High Priest at all,—moreover, he could not even be the subject of prophecy, for he was then in existence,—still less to a *glorious* High Priest.—Different explanations have been given of the words "between them both" in the last clause of the verse. It is a very ancient and widely spread idea that the true meaning is, "between the sprout and Jehovah." (*Jerome* mentions it, and *Cocceius*, *Vitringa*, *Reuss*, and others have adopted it). On the other hand, in the opinion of a very considerable num-

ber *(Jerome, Marck, Michaelis,* &c.), the reference is to the two offices or persons of the High Priest and the King, which were to be united in the Messiah. The latter is to be preferred. The objection offered to this, namely, that the King has not been expressly mentioned before, has no force; for the Messiah has been pointed out clearly enough as King. There is nothing surprising in the fact, that a distinction should be made between the Messiah as King, and the Messiah as High Priest; for it is evidently based upon the previous state of things, in which the two offices, associated together in the Messiah, were administered by two persons. But what decides the question is, that this is the only explanation, which places the words in their proper connexion with the main object of the prophecy; namely, the union of the offices of High Priest and King in the person of the Messiah; to which we must add, the *two* referred to must necessarily be the two last named. Hence it could only be by mistaking the reference intended in the suffix of כסאו, that Jehovah could be regarded as one of them.—There are different views again as to the meaning of עֲצַת שָׁלוֹם. *Jerome*,[1] and several after him *(e.g., Michaelis* and *Maurer)*, explain the words as referring to the harmony between the two offices, as united in the Messiah, in contradistinction to the discord which often prevailed between them to the great disadvantage of the kingdom of God, when they were administered by different individuals. The *Berleburger Bible* says, "And there will be a counsel of peace and pleasant harmony, as when on consultation counsellors are of one mind and opinion." Others again regard שלום as a *gen. objecti*, "consultation concerning peace," *i.e.*, concerning the acquisition, impartation, or reception of it. There is a similar expression in Is. liii. 5, "the chastisement of our peace," equivalent to the chastisement, which has for its object our peace, and also in Zech. viii. 16. It is difficult to decide between these two explanations. Peace frequently occurs in Zechariah as an interchangeable term with salvation, *e.g.*, chap. viii. 10, 12, and also as an equivalent to peaceableness, *e.g.*, chap. viii. 19. The former gives a more emphatic meaning, and

[1] "Et consilium pacificum erit inter utrumque, ut nec regale fastigium sacerdotalem deprimat dignitatem, nec sacerdotii dignitas regale fastigium, sed in unius gloria domini Jesu utrumque consentiat."

is favoured by the fact that injurious contentions between the King and High Priest are hardly heard of in early times. The prophet, then, represents the Messiah as King, and the Messiah as High Priest, as consulting together respecting the best means of securing peace and salvation for the covenant nation. If combined efforts to promote the good of the nation, such as had been already seen as an imperfect type in the case of Joshua and Zerubbabel, had been followed by such beneficial results, what might be expected, when the true High Priest and true King, the Messiah, should strive earnestly to attain this end, and should devote to that purpose all the means, afforded by the two offices, which were concentrated in his person.

Ver. 14. "*And the crown shall be to Chelem, and Tobiah, and Chen the son of Zephaniah, for a memorial in the temple of the Lord.*"

The prophet now passes on to an explanation of another feature in the symbolical action, namely, the circumstance, that the materials for the crown were to be obtained from the messengers and representatives of the Jews who lived at a distance from their native land. The crowns were to serve as a memorial of them, and, as may be seen from what follows, principally on account of the typical significance of the whole transaction. The sight of the crown (or, if the whole was purely ideal, their mental perception of it) brought before the minds of all the fact, that those who had dedicated it were types, both in their names and condition, of the heathen, who would one day come with haste from distant lands, as they had done, and with the greatest readiness do all they could, to ornament the temple and advance the kingdom of God. Thus the crown was for a memorial "to Chelem and the rest," in a much higher sense than was ordinarily the case with presents to the temple.—There were only three delegates from Babylon, but the crown served quite as much for a memorial to Josiah, who had given them a hospitable reception in Jerusalem. For he formed quite as essential a part of the typical representation as any of the others. The host represents the elect of Israel, the guests are types of "those that are far off."[1]

[1] There is room to doubt, whether the act enjoined upon the prophet in this vision was afterwards really performed by him. The account given by

Ver. 15. "*And those that are far off will come and build at the temple of the Lord, and ye learn that the Lord of Sabaoth hath sent me unto you; and it cometh to pass, if ye will hearken to the voice of the Lord your God.*" . . .

After what has been said as to the temple-building on the part of the Messiah, no special explanation need be given, of what is meant by the participation of those that are far off, viz., the heathen in distant lands (*vide* chap. ii. 15, viii. 20, 22, ix. 10; Is. lx. 10, &c.), in the building of the temple (1 Pet. ii. 5).—"*And ye learn, &c.*:" the result, the active participation of the heathen in the setting up of the kingdom of God, would furnish a proof of the divine origin of what had here been predicted in word and deed.—The last clause has frequently been misinterpreted. *Jerome* says: "*fient autem omnia, quae promissa sunt, si dominum audire voluerint, et acta pœnitentia in bonis operibus manserint.*" *Theodoret*: ταῦτα δέ, φησὶν, ἔσται, καὶ τὸ προσῆκον δέξεται πέρας, ἐὰν ὑμεῖς τοῖς θείοις ὑπακούσητε λόγοις. And *Maurer* expresses himself to the same effect. But if this were correct, we should have, what never occurs and in fact would be absurd, the coming of the Messiah, and particularly the participation of the heathen in his kingdom, made to depend upon the faithfulness of the covenant-nation. To escape this difficulty, others, such as *Marck* for example, connect וְהָיָה with the clause immediately preceding: "this (your discerning the Divine character of my mission) will take place, if ye are obedient to the Lord." But it is only in appearance, that this removes the difficulty. For the words, "ye will learn," are equivalent to ye will have an opportunity of learning; and this continued true, even in the case of those who wilfully closed their

the Talmudists (*Middoth*, iii. 8), of the place in the temple, where the crown had been suspended, certainly does very little to prove the affirmative. On the other hand, ver. 11 tends rather to prove that this was not the case, for the prophet can hardly have been a goldsmith, and yet he is ordered to make the crown. This might, however, be understood as meaning that he was to have it made. A still stronger proof may be found in the prevailing character of Zechariah's prophecies, in which there is so little that is external. And, as in the case of Ezekiel, this creates so strong a presumption that the transaction was not an outward one, that it can only be set aside by the most cogent arguments. And lastly, we may adduce, as still more specific, the analogy of the whole symbolical transaction in chap. xi., which must have passed within that sphere of spiritual perception, to which all the visions in this section belong.

eyes. But the absence of the pronoun ought to have led the commentators to adopt another explanation, viz., that we have here an example of *aposiopesis*, which gives a peculiarly emphatic sense. In addition to the perfectly analogous passage in chap. vii. 7 of this same book, we may find similar examples in 2 Sam. ii. 27, v. 8, Ps. lxxxi. 9 (compare my commentary), and in the New Testament, *e.g.* Luke xiii. 9: *κἂν μὲν ποιήσῃ καρπόν, εἰ δὲ μήγε, εἰς τὸ μέλλον ἐκκόψεις αὐτήν.* There is the more reason for adopting such a conclusion, since it is one of the peculiarities by which Zechariah is distinguished from all the other prophets, that he so frequently uses וְהָיָה to introduce a sentence. "If ye will hearken to the voice of the Lord, then . . . ye shall participate in all these blessings, and the Messiah will make atonement for you as your High Priest, and promote your prosperity as your King." With these words of earnest admonition, the exposition of which is contained in chap. v. and xi., the prophet closes this particular prophecy, and at the same time the whole connected series of revelations, which he received during this remarkable night.

We have now to add an outline of the history of the interpretation of this prophecy. In the earlier writings of the Jews we may still find proofs, that the Messianic interpretation was the one generally adopted by them. In the Chaldee paraphrase it is introduced into the translation, "behold there the man, Messiah is his name, he will be revealed and glorified." In Breschit Rabba (quoted by *Raim. Martini* p. 155, 759) these words occur, "R. Barachias adduces this: God says to the Israelites, ye say to me, we are orphans and have no father. The *God*, whom I raise up to you, has also no father, as we read in Zech. vi. 12, 'behold there is a man by name Zemach, he will shoot forth under himself;' and as it is also stated in Is. liii. 3, 'he springeth up before him as a plant.'" In Echa Rabbati, an old commentary, or a kind of *catena*, on the Lamentations, in the summary of the names of the Messiah in *Raim. Martini* p. 880, we read, "Joshua ben Levi said, he is called sprout, as it is said in Zech. vi. 12;" for other passages see *Schöttgen*, hor. hebr. ii. p. 219 sqq. 104, 422, also his "*Jesus der wahre Messias.*"

p. 402. At the same time it must not be overlooked, that, even before the period when efforts were intentionally made to distort and pervert all the Messianic prophecies, the whole of this prophecy was sometimes explained as referring to Joshua and Zerubbabel. We may learn from *Jerome*, in what way this meaning was introduced into the text. The sprout was supposed to be Zerubbabel; but, as it could not be shown that in his case there was any combination of the royal and high-priestly dignity, to get rid of the difficulty it was assumed that in ver. 13 there was a change in the subject at the verb וְהָיָה: he, Zerubbabel, will sit and rule upon his throne, and there will also be a priest, Joshua, upon his throne, "but the High Priest Jesus (Joshua), the son of Jozedech, will also sit on his priestly throne, and with one mind and united counsels they will govern the people of God. And there will be peace between these two, *i.e.*, between the one who is of the royal tribe and the one who is descended from the Levitical race, that the people of God may be equally governed by the priest and king." The *innocent* occasion of this exposition, which was so welcome to most of the modern Jewish expositors from their doctrinal prejudices, is to be found in the words, "he will build the temple of the Lord." As the commentators failed to perceive that the prophet leaves the shadow here, the building of the outward temple which was then going on, and which he regarded as the type of the erection of another and more glorious one, just as the leaders Joshua and Zerubbabel were types of the spiritual architect who was afterwards to come, and passes to the substance, they imagined that these words precluded any reference to the Messiah, and were sufficient to prove that Zerubbabel was intended, seeing that he had already been mentioned in chap. iv. 9 as the builder of the temple.

The pernicious effect of this misunderstanding, for which there was all the less ground in the case of Zechariah, since it is so common a custom with him to ascend from the shadow to the substance, may be seen in some of the commentators of the Christian Church. *Theodoret*, for example, says, *ταῦτα δὲ ἅπαντα περὶ τοῦ Ζοροβάβελ προαγορεύει, οὐχ ὡς μηδέπω τεχθέντος, ἀλλ' ὡς μηδέπω τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παρειληφότος*; and *Eusebius* writes to the same effect (demonstr. 4. 17). This

mistake was the more pardonable in their case, as the misinterpretation of ver. 13, which is connected with this exposition, was favoured by the *Septuagint* version, to the use of which they were restricted. The translators, for example, probably sharing this mistake, render the clause, "and he is priest upon his throne," by καὶ ἔσται ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ, thus making the king, who is high priest as well, into a king with a high priest standing at his side. We should expect, at the outset, that *Grotius* would lay hold with both hands of the plausible pretext, afforded him by such predecessors, for rejecting the Messianic exposition. In his opinion, the meaning of the prophecy may be paraphrased thus: "as the house of David has been restored in Zerubbabel, so will the temple (ומתחתיו יצמח he supposes to mean "the temple will spring up under him, under his feet"), of which he will lay the first stone, be restored by him. He will also also wear the crown of a prince, and sitting on a throne will make laws with senators. A priest also will have a throne in that same senate, and there will be the best agreement between the two." *Clericus* followed in the footsteps of *Grotius*, and in opposition to his own exposition of Jer. xxiii. 5, where he cites this passage as well as chap. iii., as referring to the Messiah, in his translation of Zechariah makes Joshua and Zerubbabel the subject of this prophecy. The same opinion is expressed by the somewhat superficial *Calmet*. Recently *Eichhorn* and *Ewald* have endeavoured to revive this exposition, without taking the least notice of the complete refutation which it has received from *Marck* and *Reuss* (l. c. p. 68 sqq.). There is something peculiar in the manner, in which they get rid of the difficulty that in the symbolical representation the crown is placed upon the head of only one man, Joshua, whereas, according to their interpretation, the prophecy, in which the symbol is explained, refers to two persons, Joshua and Zerubbabel. *Eichhorn* asserts that in ver. 11, after the clause, "and set them upon the head of Joshua, the son of Jozedech, the high priest," the words, "and of Zerubbabel, the son of Shealtiel, the prince" have fallen out; and therefore he restores them in his translation. *Ewald* contents himself with interpolating "and upon that of Zerubbabel." But the fact, that they are compelled to resort to such an assumption as this, may be regarded as a confession on their own part of the

untenable character of the entire exposition, to sustain which it is also necessary to alter אֵלָיו (to him) in the 12th verse into אֲלֵהֶם (to them).

From the whole mass of arguments, which might be brought against this explanation, and in defence of the Messianic interpretation, we simply select a few. (1). The parallel passages are decisive in favour of the latter; *first* of all chap. iii. 8, where the Messiah is called a *sprout*, as he is in this passage, and Joshua is expressly referred to as a type of him; *secondly*, the prophecies of Jeremiah, already quoted, respecting the Zemach, which the prophet evidently had before his eyes; and *lastly*, Ps. cx., the announcement contained in which, respecting the union of the offices of High Priest and King in the person of the Messiah, is simply expanded here.—(2). If the prophecy refers to Joshua and Zerubbabel, it is difficult to see why the crown, the *insignia* of government, should be placed upon the head of Joshua, or even granting, though it cannot be proved, that it might also be an emblem of the high-priesthood, why it should not have been placed upon the head of Zerubbabel as well. Surely Joshua could not be a type of Zerubbabel. For what reason can the prophet possibly have had for making a man the representative of his contemporary?—(3). The rendering, "and there will *also* be a priest upon his throne," for וְהָיָה כֹהֵן עַל־כִּסְאוֹ, is in itself a very forced one; moreover the want of harmony to which it gives rise, between the prophecy in symbol and the same prophecy in words, is a sufficient proof that it is not correct.—(4). The sprout cannot refer to Zerubbabel, for the former is represented as something future, and Zerubbabel had already been occupied for eighteen years in connexion with the new colony, and had long ago commenced the building of the temple, which is also announced as belonging to the future. *Theodoret's* reply, that the prophecy relates to his exaltation to new honours, has no force whatever; for Zerubbabel remained exactly the same after the prophecy as he had been before. The royalty, attributed to the subject of this prophecy, was never conferred upon him.—(5). If the explanation referred to be correct, it is difficult to imagine anything more unmeaning than this solemn prophecy, with its magnificent promises. Joshua and Zerubbabel (this would be the substance of it) will

petitioners. It contained in the germ that dead pharisaical reliance upon works, which subsequently increased more and more, until it became just as pernicious to the new colony, as outward idolatry, which sprang from precisely the same principle, had formerly been to the nation at large. This also exerted an injurious influence upon the estimate which they formed of the value of fasting. A custom which had no meaning, except as the outward manifestation of a penitent state of heart, was regarded as having worth in itself, as an *opus operatum*. It was supposed that merit was thereby acquired, and surprise and discontent were expressed, that God had not yet acknowledged and rewarded the service of so many years. The prophet points out how preposterous such a notion is, declares that the Lord requires something very different from this, namely the fulfilment of the moral precepts of his law, without which all outward service is pure hypocrisy, and calls attention to the fact that it was their failing to satisfy this demand, to which earlier prophets had loudly and repeatedly given utterance, which had brought upon the people that indescribable calamity, from which they had not yet recovered, and also that in future the same cause would necessarily be followed by the same effect.—In the *second part* of his address (chap. viii.) the prophet proceeds to meet the question with a direct reply, the substance of which could no longer confirm the hypocrites in their carnal security, but might serve to comfort and strengthen such as were weak in faith, both in his own and subsequent times, until the appearance of Christ himself. The following is a summary of his reply. Such abundant deliverance was in reserve for the covenant nation, that not only the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed, but the other days also, which had been set apart as fast-days, in commemoration of peculiarly mournful events in connexion with their past history, such, for example, as the capture of Jerusalem in the fourth month, the murder of Gedaliah in the seventh, and the commencement of the siege in the tenth, would all be altered into days of rejoicing ; for the blessings, which they were about to receive, would be far greater than those which they had lost on the days referred to. In this reply the prophet embraced the whole of the blessings of salvation intended for the covenant nation, and the full meaning of his declaration was first realised

CHAPTERS VII. AND VIII.

This prophecy is separated from the preceding one by a space of nearly two years. It belongs to the ninth month of the fourth year of Darius. The chronological data given by the prophet are important, as throwing light upon the event which occasioned the prophecy. The congregation (the house of God, ver. 2, compare chap. iii. 7 and Hosea viii. 1),[1] sent delegates to the temple, to enquire whether they were to continue to observe the fast, which had hitherto been kept on the day on which the temple was destroyed by the Chaldeans, and which had embraced a penitential acknowledgment of guilt, and a prayer for forgiveness and for the restoration of former prosperity, or whether they were now to relinquish the custom. The *question* involved a *prayer*, that God would speedily change the days of mourning into days of rejoicing. It is stated, therefore, in ver. 2, that the delegates had come to intreat the Lord. The question and the prayer both presuppose, that the existing circumstances furnished a ground of hope that a happy future awaited the nation. Now it is precisely in the fourth year of Darius that this fact can be well established. Up to that time the building of the temple had been carried on without intermission, and great progress had been made. The fresh schemes, to which the Samaritans at the Persian court resorted, in the hope of preventing this, had just been completely thwarted *(vide Prideaux)*. The faint-heartedness of those who had returned was thus put to shame, and the brightest hopes were cherished with reference to the future.

The enquiry was directed to the priests and prophets, who were assembled in the temple, in the hope that God might reveal his will through one of them. And this He did through Zechariah. The reply may be divided into two distinct parts. The *first* part, chap. vii. 5—14, contains a reproof of the wrong motive, which led to such a question being asked, at least on the part of some of the

[1] That the whole nation is intended, and is called here by the name of its ideal dwelling place, is evident from the singular in ver. 3, and also from ver. 5, where the *answer* is addressed to the "people of the land."

by express historical testimony. The taking of Damascus is described by *Arrian* (ii. 15), *Curtius* (iii. 25) and *Plutarch* (Alexander, chap. xxiv.). The fate of both Tyre and Gaza is too well known for any farther evidence to be required. According to *Arrian* (ii. 27), Alexander first of all depopulated the latter, which had formerly been a flourishing city, and having settled a colony there, which he had gathered together from the surrounding tribes (the fate denounced against Ashdod in ver. 6), turned it into a mere garrison. There is nothing to astonish us in the fact, that the conquest of Hamath is not expressly narrated; for the historians follow the course taken by Alexander himself, who kept to the sea-coast, whereas the land of Hamath must have been skirted by Parmenio on his march to Damascus. There is just as little reason for surprise, that we have not an express account of the fate of the other cities of Philistia; for the biographers of Alexander are without exception extremely brief in their narratives of his march through Syria and Palestine, on account of their restricting themselves to a simple record of the most important events, and chiefly to such as throw some light upon Alexander's character, which was the principal object they had in view, as *Arrian's* history most strikingly shows.—We have already shown, in our *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 225, how completely history confirms the prediction, contained in this passage, of the preservation of the covenant nation in the midst of an expedition, which was so destructive to the surrounding countries.—Zechariah's prophecy, respecting the latter, is throughout simply a resumption of earlier predictions. His announcement of the fate, which awaited Tyre and Sidon, is linked on to Ezekiel, and that concerning Damascus, Hamath, and the four cities of Philistia, to Jeremiah.

In vers. 9 and 10, the prophet places by the side of these inferior manifestations of the divine mercy, his greater gifts, the mission of the Messiah, at which he had already cast a passing glance in the seventh verse.

We shall preface our exposition with some remarks on the land of Hadrach, which is introduced in ver. 1 as the leading subject of the prophecy.

ON THE LAND OF HADRACH.

The opinion, expressed by many of the Jewish expositors on the authority of *R. Jose*, and also by *Bochart* and many Christian writers, particularly since his time, namely that the land of Hadrach אֶרֶץ חַדְרָךְ (Zech. ix. 1) was a district in the neighbourhood of Damascus, has been for some time past very generally adopted on the strength of the arguments adduced by *Michaelis* (Supplem., p. 676). But all the historical evidence, which is brought to prove the existence of a province of Hadrach, rests upon a confusion of names, Hadrach being confounded with the Arabian city of Draa or Adraa, the ancient Edrei, אֶדְרֶעִי, which is mentioned in Deut. i. 5 as the second capital of Og the king of Bashan. According to *Abulfeda* (tabula Syriae, p. 97), this city is about thirty-two miles from Damascus. In the Middle Ages it was still a considerable city, the residence of the suffragan of Bozrah. It is frequently mentioned in the history of the Crusades; and, according to the testimony of *Seetzen* and others, it is now uninhabited and in ruins, (*vide Ritter*, Erdkunde xv. 2, p. 834 sqq.). It is very clear that many of the earlier writers have confounded the two names; although, as written in Hebrew and Arabic, there is scarcely any resemblance between them. Thus, for example, *Adrichomius* (*theatr. terrae sanctae*, p. 75) says: "Adrach, or Hadrach, *alias* Adra, Adraon and Adratum, is a city of Coelesyria, about twenty-five miles from Bostra, and from it the adjacent region takes the name of 'land of Hadrach.' This was the land, which formed the subject of Zechariah's prophecy. After the coming of Christ the city was set apart as an episcopal see, and recognised the supremacy of the Archbishop of Bozrah. When the Christians of the west took possession of Palestine, it was also called the city *Bernardi de Scampis.*" *Calmet*, in his Commentary on Zechariah, says: "nous connaissons une ville d'Atra dans l'Arabie deserte, celebre autrefois, et qui soutint des sieges contre l'armée de Trajan commandée par lui-même (Xiphilin. ex Dione et Dion) et contre celle de l'empereur Sevére (Herodian l. 3. 9, Zonaras p. 216) *cf.* Cellarius l. 3, c. 15." In the case of others, however, where this confusion of names is not so distinctly expressed, it is necessary to prove

by express historical testimony. The taking of Damascus is described by *Arrian* (ii. 15), *Curtius* (iii. 25) and *Plutarch* (Alexander, chap. xxiv.). The fate of both Tyre and Gaza is too well known for any farther evidence to be required. According to *Arrian* (ii. 27), Alexander first of all depopulated the latter, which had formerly been a flourishing city, and having settled a colony there, which he had gathered together from the surrounding tribes (the fate denounced against Ashdod in ver. 6), turned it into a mere garrison. There is nothing to astonish us in the fact, that the conquest of Hamath is not expressly narrated; for the historians follow the course taken by Alexander himself, who kept to the sea-coast, whereas the land of Hamath must have been skirted by Parmenio on his march to Damascus. There is just as little reason for surprise, that we have not an express account of the fate of the other cities of Philistia; for the biographers of Alexander are without exception extremely brief in their narratives of his march through Syria and Palestine, on account of their restricting themselves to a simple record of the most important events, and chiefly to such as throw some light upon Alexander's character, which was the principal object they had in view, as *Arrian's* history most strikingly shows.—We have already shown, in our *Dissertation on Daniel*, p. 225, how completely history confirms the prediction, contained in this passage, of the preservation of the covenant nation in the midst of an expedition, which was so destructive to the surrounding countries.—Zechariah's prophecy, respecting the latter, is throughout simply a resumption of earlier predictions. His announcement of the fate, which awaited Tyre and Sidon, is linked on to Ezekiel, and that concerning Damascus, Hamath, and the four cities of Philistia, to Jeremiah.

In vers. 9 and 10, the prophet places by the side of these inferior manifestations of the divine mercy, his greater gifts, the mission of the Messiah, at which he had already cast a passing glance in the seventh verse.

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questions which were addressed to him. The following proofs may be offered, however, that the two names have really been confounded. (1). Not only is the direction from Damascus towards the desert, that is towards Arabia, the same, but the distance also corresponds, since the ten Arabian miles are about seven or eight German (between thirty-five and forty English). —(2). Abbassi said, that there were many traditions respecting the ancient kings of this region, which was said to have been at one time inhabited by giants. Who can help thinking of the account given in the Pentateuch of Og, the gigantic king of Bashan, whose iron bedstead was nine cubits long, and four cubits broad, and who reigned over the Rephaim, a people great, and tall, and strong *(vide* Num. xxi. 33; Deut. i. 4, iii. 1—11)? These accounts were probably received from the Christians, who were very numerous in Adraa in the Middle Ages, and according to their usual custom the Arabs embellished them still further, in which they were greatly assisted by the character of the country itself, which, according to *Seetzen* is full of caves.— At any rate his statement as to the former grandeur and present decline of the city is perfectly applicable to Adraa.

Having thus disposed of the leading witness, the two others need not cause us any difficulty. The first of these is *Theodoret*, who says, Ἀδρὰχ πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας. The two names could be the more readily confounded in this case, on account of *Theodoret* writing *ά* for the Hebrew ה; and the fact that he calls Hadrach a city in Arabia removes all doubt whatever, as to this confusion having really taken place.—The second is *R. Jose*, as quoted by *Jarchi* (in *loc.*), "sed dicebat illi Rabbi Jose, filius Damascenae mulieris, in disputatione: coelum et terram super me invoco: natus sum Damasci, estque locus aliquis, cujus nomen est Hadrach." As we have met with so many instances in which the two names are confounded, we may quietly lay aside the testimony of *R. Jose*, without impugning his veracity, seeing that he is not very likely to have enquired particularly whether the Hebrew and Arabic characters exactly corresponded, and had probably never seen the name of the place in writing at all.

The conclusion to which we are thus brought, that hitherto no evidence has been given of the existence of a city and region of

that it really exists. We commence with what is generally accepted as the most demonstrative evidence. "To this I may add," says *J. D. Michaelis*, "what I learned in the year 1768 from Joseph Abbassi, a noble Arab of the country beyond the Jordan. . . . I enquired, among other things . . . whether he was acquainted with a certain city ادرعی, for thus I wrote it in Arabic characters. . . . He replied that there *was* a city of that name; that he had heard about it; but that he had never been there. That it was a small place now, but was reported to have been at one time larger than even Damascus. . . . He added, that it was said to have been the capital of a large region, which was called the land of Hadrach; that noble families were said to have sprung from this land of Hadrach; that the Arabs related many things about its chiefs and kings; and that it was even reported to have been formerly the abode of giants. There was also a tale told about Mahomet having been born in this region. . . . I pressed him to tell me where it was situated. He said that he could not do this very accurately; that he merely remembered to have heard it said, that it was somewhere near the tenth *milliarium*, on the road from Damascus towards the desert. I forgot to ask him what kind of *milliarium* he meant, but I fancy that those of the Arabs are somewhat larger than others, namely about the nineteenth or twentieth part of a degree." Now the easiest way to get rid of this testimony would be, to appeal to the fact that, according to the incontrovertible evidence adduced by *Steph. Schulz* in the *Leitungen des Höchsten*, the informant of *Michaelis* was an impostor. But this would not settle the question, since the impostor was really a native of the country, to which he pretended to belong, and may therefore have been in a position to give correct information as to its history and geography. Moreover, a closer examination will show that his replies were not altogether fictitious, but that, apart from his confounding *Hadrach* and *Adraa*, his statement was generally correct and trustworthy; and this may be all the more easily explained, from the fact that he had never been at the spot himself, and acknowledged that he had only obtained his information from hearsay, and also from the fact that he would be all the more disposed to overlook a little difference in the pronunciation, from his eagerness to be ready with an answer to the

sources on this occasion, as the exact agreement between his explanation and that of the Jews clearly shows, says nothing about the existence of a literal interpretation. Under these circumstances, we need have no hesitation in pronouncing Hadrach a figurative appellation, especially as it is a very usual thing for the prophets to employ such names as these. It is well known, that Isaiah calls Jerusalem by the symbolical name of Ariel (lion of God,) and also "the valley of vision," on account of its being the seat of the prophets. Babylon, again, he names "the desert of the sea," and Edom he calls *Dumah*. Ezekiel refers to Jerusalem under the name of *Oholibah*, and Jeremiah speaks of Babylon as *Sesach*. Even if we could not discover any outward occasion for the selection of this figurative appellation on the part of Zechariah, it would be no proof that our conclusion was unfounded; for this is the case with most of the names mentioned above.

If, then, the name must clearly be symbolical, our next task is to determine its meaning.[1] We cannot hesitate long as to this. Nor have we even to search out the true meaning. So far as the mere rendering (not the application) of the word is concerned, the meaning to be given here is the oldest in existence; and, though from its very nature it needs no such support, yet the authority of tradition may possibly be appealed to in its

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Hadrach, involves something more than is here expressed. It shows that Hadrach cannot be a proper name at all. If the word occurred in a historical book, such as the Pentateuch for example, or some other of the earlier books, and was given as the supposed name of a comparatively insignificant place, in a district but little known either in ancient or modern times (say for example in the interior of Africa), nothing would be more absurd than such a conclusion. But the very opposite is really the case. We find the name in a prophetical book, where the general character of the prophetic writings would lead us to look for symbolical names, and in one of the very latest of the books of Scripture; and this fact precludes the reply, that the name may be the only memorial of the city that has been handed down. Moreover it does not belong to a single city merely, but to a whole province, or a whole country; and its connexion with Damascus, and the other places named, shows that we must look for it in a cultivated part of the globe, and in one well known both in ancient and modern times. How can we imagine it possible, then, that such a land should have eluded all research, both ancient and modern, if it really existed under the geographical name of *Hadrach?* It is very apparent that the translators of the *Septuagint* were not aware of the existence of any such land; for they have twisted the name into Σεδράχ, and this is not a corruption, as *Michaelis* maintains (p. 679), but the original reading, which is found in every MS., and was corrected by *Jerome*, not from Greek codices, but from the Hebrew text. The ancient Jews had evidently no historical accounts whatever of any land of Hadrach, as we may gather from the fact, that the name is universally regarded as symbolical. In the Chaldee version it is rendered בַּאַרְעָא דָרוֹמָה, *in terra australi*, probably with a tacit allusion to the two passages in Job (ix. 9, and xxxvii. 9), in which חַדְרֵי תֵימָן (the chambers of the south) is a term applied to the most remote and inaccessible southern regions. But the idea of the south is expressed in the word תמן alone, a fact which must certainly have been overlooked. *Jarchi* expressly affirms, that the figurative explanation of the word prevailed among the Jews, until Rabbi Jose succeeded in introducing his supposed emendation. *Jerome*, who also drew from Jewish

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favour. *Jarchi* and *Kimchi* say: "R. Juda the son of Elai (a pupil of Akiba of the time of Hadrian; *cf. Wolff* bibl. Hebr. i. p. 411) interpreted it as an allegorical expression relating to the Messiah, who is harsh (חָד) to the heathen, and gentle (רָךְ) to Israel. *Jerome* says, "assumptio verbi domini, acuti in peccatores, mollis in justos: Adrach quippe hoc resonat, ex duobus integris nomen compositum: Ad acutum, Rach molle tenerumque significans." We are quite willing to leave them their Messianic interpretation, and merely borrow their derivation of the word. According to the latter, the land of Chadrach is the land of *Harsh-gentle*, or *Strong-weak*, a land, which is now strong and mighty, but when the impending judgment shall fall, will at once be weakened and laid low.

Little evidence is required, that this explanation is perfectly admissible, so far as the rules of the language are concerned, and in fact that it is the only one, which can be sustained. That such combinations are customary not merely in the case of proper names, in the strict sense of the term, but also in symbolical appellations, is apparent from such examples as Ariel, Jehoshaphat, Abiad, &c. חָד literally means *sharp* and *pointed*, and is applied to a sword in Ps. lvii. 5 and Is. xlix. 2; then, in a secondary sense, *acris, brave, strong, energetic.* In Arabic the verb حدّ signifies *vehemens fuit, durus in ira, pugna;* and the Hebrew חָרַד is used in the same sense in Hab. i. 8, where it is said of the horses of the Chaldeans חַדּוּ מִזְּאֵבֵי עֶרֶב, on which *Bochart* (opp. ii. c. 826) has very correctly observed: "I would refer חַדּוּ to the disposition, and understand the terms ὀξεῖς and *acres* as being applied to both wolves and horses, because of the speed and eagerness with which they execute whatever they determine to perform." No further evidence is required so far as רָךְ is concerned, for it is universally admitted that it means *soft, tender*, and then *exhausted, weak.* It is very descriptive, as applied to the empires of the East at the period of their decline; compare רַךְ לֵבָב in Deut. xx. 8 and 2 Chr. xiii. 7, where it is used to denote effeminacy and want of vigour.

According to this explanation, the symbolical name given to he land contains in itself a prediction of its impending fate, the

substance of all that the prophet is about to declare respecting it. This conclusion recommends itself all the more in the case of a writer like Zechariah, whose prophecies are based upon those of earlier prophets, from whom many analogous passages might be quoted. The first, which we shall adduce, is Is. xxi. 1, where Babylon, whose overthrow is predicted, is called מִדְבַּר יָם, "the desert of the sea." From the etymology of the word and the general usage of the language, מדבר cannot possibly denote a cultivated plain, such as that which surrounded Babylon. It was applied first of all to land adapted for pasturage alone, and afterwards used to denote a desert. There can be no doubt, that Babylon is called "a desert," on account of the utter desolation which awaited it, and "a desert of the sea," because the waves of the sea of nations were to flow over it, and change it into a desert. For it is evident from Jer. li. 42, 43, and xlix. 23, that "the sea" referred to, is the sea of the nations which cause the desolation.—Another analogous example we find in the superscription "burden of Dumah," in Isaiah's prophecy against Edom (chap. xxi. 11). דּוּמָה means *silence*. The stillness of death was to reign in the desolate land. This figurative title is the more appropriate here, since the calamity is represented in the prophecy itself under the image of a cheerless and solitary night.—But the most striking analogy is in the name Sesach, which is applied to Babylon in Jer. xxv. 26, and li. 41. The Jewish expositors are unanimously of opinion that שֵׁשַׁךְ is the same as Babel according to the so-called *Atbash* alphabet. This opinion has been adopted by some of the Christian commentators, and particularly by *Jerome*, with very great confidence; but many reject it as a Jewish absurdity, and others again regard it as very questionable. But there can be no doubt as to its correctness. The disinclination to adopt it can hardly be accounted for on any other grounds than these, that, although the meaning of the word Sesach did not immediately appear, such a transposition was regarded as a useless amusement, foreign to the age of Jeremiah and unworthy of a prophet, and that the very name of the *Atbash alphabet* suggested the idea of something extremely complicated and artificial. But so far as the latter objection is concerned, nothing can be more simple than the construction of

this alphabet, in which the last letter of the ordinary alphabet (ת) is substituted for the first (א), the last but one (ש) for the second (ב), and so on (*vide Buxtorf lex. Chald.* s. v. אתבש and his *de abbreviaturis Hebr.* p. 41). The reasons for supposing that Jeremiah has really followed this plan are the following: (1). It cannot be purely an accidental circumstance that the name שֵׁשַׁךְ, according to the *Atbash* alphabet, corresponds exactly to the word for which it is substituted. (2). There is another instance, in which Jeremiah has undoubtedly made use of this *Atbash* alphabet. In chap. li. 1 the prophet says, "thus saith the Lord, behold I will raise up against Babylon, and against those that dwell in the heart of my foes, a destroying wind." The strange expression, "the heart of my foes," excites surprise. But the difficulty is removed by the remark made by *Jarchi* and *Abenezra*, that, when the two words are read together, according to the *Atbash* alphabet, they form the word כַּשְׂדִּים. There can be the less doubt as to the correctness of the explanation in this instance, on account of the number of the letters, which renders it less likely to be an accidental circumstance, than in the case of *Babel*. To this we may add the fact, that in other passages Jeremiah not merely uses the word כַּשְׂדִּים (Chaldeans) for the land of the Chaldeans (as in chap. l. 10), but connects together *Babel* and *Joshbe Kasdim*, as in the verse before us. See, for example, chap. li. 35. The suitableness of this play upon the word,—the Chaldeans being called the heart of the foes of God, as being the bitterest enemies of his people, is at once apparent. The key to the interpretation of this passage appears to have been handed down by tradition, and not first discovered by the Jews of later times. The rendering given in the Septuagint *καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Χαλδαίους* shows that the translators had it *already*, or rather *still*, in their possession. The Chaldee version itself, ארעא דכשדאי, proves the same thing. And if *Symmachus* had not been looking for something else in the expression, he would not have retained the Hebrew word (*Λεβκάμμα*) in his translation.

But the question still remains, what does the word *Sesach* mean? For if no meaning can be discovered, the name is still open to the charge of being merely a *jeu d'esprit*. But we may infer from the analogy of לֵב קָמַי, that such a meaning does

exist; nor can we be long in doubt as to what it really is. If we observe the formation of בָּבֶל itself, which is derived from בָּלַל, "to confound," and means "confusion," as the Book of Genesis expressly affirms, which Jeremiah certainly had in his mind at the time—the word שֵׁשַׁךְ must be a derivation of the verb שָׁבַךְ, the irregularity in the form of the word being thus sufficiently explained. This is confirmed by the fact, that the infinitive שַׁחַ occurs in Jer. v. 26; although it is otherwise very rarely employed. And we may still farther add the appropriateness of the meaning itself. שָׁבַךְ is applied in Gen. viii. 1 to the decreasing waters of the flood; and in Jer. v. 26 to the stooping posture of bird-catchers. Hence the word *Sesach* must mean a *sinking down*, and in this case we have a commentary on the name in Jer. li. 64: "thus shall Babylon sink and not rise, through the evil that I will bring upon her."[1]—It will be obvious by this time that there is an analogy between Sesach and Hadrach.

It only remains to enquire what kingdom Zechariah refers to. Everything points to the Persian empire. (1). The name itself shows that the kingdom must have been one, which was then at the summit of its glory and power. But, of all the kingdoms which were in any way related to the covenant nation, the Persian was the only one, of which this could be said. All the rest were subject to it; and there was no other, to which the predicate חָזַק could be applied.—(2). This explanation is most in accordance with the whole of the contents of vers. 1—8. If the expedition of Alexander is referred to in these verses, nothing could be more suitable, than for the prophet to speak of the empire itself, the leading object of the expedition, before pro-

[1] That the reason why Sesach and Lebkamai are used in the place of the proper names, is not to be sought in the prudence of the prophet, is evident from the fact that the ordinary names are given *as well*. When *Nägelsbach* expresses the opinion, as others had done before him, that "the use of such amusing inventions is unworthy of a prophet" (der Prophet Jeremias und Babylon, p. 134), he shows that he has not sufficiently considered the feelings of those for whom the names were written. *Babel* and *Kasdim* were at that time the names, which sounded the most terrible in an Israelitish ear. The prophet deprives them of all that is terrible, by means of a slight alteration, by which he indicates that the ruin of Babylon is concealed beneath its greatness, and that the Chaldeans are regarded by the Almighty as the heart of his enemies.

ceeding to describe the fate of the various places, which were dependent upon it.—(3). This at once explains, why Zechariah employs a symbolical name in this case alone, and calls all the other places by their proper names. Zechariah lived during the supremacy of Persia; and the propriety of mentioning the Persians by name would be all the more questionable, since the enemies of the Jews did everything in their power to convince the former of their disposition to rebel; (see Ezra iv. 12, 13). Zechariah prophesied at the very time, when Judah was constrained to pray, "deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips, and from the deceitful tongue" (Ps. cxx. 2), and when the Samaritans were watching every movement, to find materials on which to found an accusation at the Persian court. The introduction of the names of the other places, which were subject to the Persians, could not so easily be employed as the ground of a charge, since it might be assumed that in the event of a rebellion, the Persians themselves would be the conquerors.—(4). The construction shows that *Hadrach* does not stand upon the same footing as the rest, but is rather the imperial power of which all the others were but so many different portions.—(5). In chap. ix. 13 the next phase of the imperial power is very clearly pointed out as the Grecian. Greece could not possibly oppress Judah, without first taking the place of the imperial power, which was in existence then. And if Hadrach denotes the latter, it must mean the Persian empire. Daniel had already announced the overthrow of Persia by Greece (chap. viii. 5—7, comp. 21), and with his announcement the prophecy of Zechariah is immediately connected.

Ver. 1. "*The burden of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its rest; for the Lord has an eye upon men and upon all the tribes of Israel.*"

From the very earliest times two different renderings have been given of the word מַשָּׂא, which occurs in the superscriptions of the prophecies. By some it is rendered *burden*, namely by *Jonathan*, *Aquila*, in the *Syriac* version, and particularly by *Jerome*, who says in his note on Nahum. i. 1, "Massa autem nunquam praefertur in titulo, nisi cum grave et ponderis laborisque plenum est, quod videtur." (See the the remarks on Hab. i. 1 and Is. xiii. 1). For a long time this rendering, if not the

ly one, was at least the one commonly received.—By others, ain, it is rendered *utterance, prophecy.* It is in this sense t the word has been taken by the *Septuagint* translators, who e sometimes rendered it ὅραμα, ὅρασις, ῥῆμα, and very frently λῆμμα, *acceptio.* In consequence of the adoption of the er by *Cocceius* (lex. *s. v.*), *Vitringa* (on Is. xiii. 1), *Aurivil-* (dissertt. p. 560) and *Michaelis* (supplem. p. 1685), it has ed the other to a great extent into the shade. Latterly it met with almost universal acceptance. But there are strong ons for rejecting it.

1). It would be a strange coincidence that מַשָּׂא, although quite suitable for the superscription of predictions, which are full of mises, as of those which consist entirely of threatenings, uld be found exclusively in the latter. Not only is this case, but it occurs so frequently, that it cannot for a moment regarded as accidental. It is unanimously admitted that iah never uses the word except in connection with such procies (*vide* chap. xiii. 1, xiv. 28, xv. 1, xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 13, xxii. 1, xxiii. 1). Now if this was peculiar to Isaiah, re would be something plausible in *Gesenius'* otherwise unnded conjecture, that the prophecies against foreign nations ginally formed a separate collection, the author of which was y fond of the expression, and always employed it in his superiptions. But when we find that the same rule prevails roughout, that in Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Malachi, e word is still restricted to prophecies of a denunciatory chacter, it is at once apparent that, in Isaiah and the other proets, the practice must rest upon a common basis, which cannot any other, than that the meaning of the word was such as to nder it suitable for the superscription of threatening prophecies one. The only passage, adduced by *Vitringa, Michaelis,* and hers in support of their statement, that it is also used in conxion with prophecies of a cheerful character, is Zech. xii. 1. ut, as we shall afterwards see when we come to expound it, ly because they have misinterpreted the passage. *Gesenius* s most inconceivably added Mal. i. 1. The fact that it is nnected in this instance with a prophecy of a threatening aracter is so conspicuous as to need no proof whatever. Those o contend for the meaning *utterance*, are perfectly unable to

explain the acknowledged fact that the word is used *almost* without exception in connection with prophecies containing threats. *Delitzsch* (on Hab. i. 1) thinks that "the reason why this word is more especially used in connexion with prophecies of a threatening nature, is to be found in custom alone, and not in the etymology or meaning of the word itself." But what gave rise to this custom?

(2). It is impossible to bring forward an instance of the use of מַשָּׂא as a noun, derived from נָשָׂא in the sense of "to utter." In fact the verb itself has no such meaning (see my commentary on Ps. xv. 3). It is always used as a derivative from נָשָׂא, in the sense of "to lift." The most plausible passages are Prov. xxx. 1 and xxxi. 1. But on closer examination, it is evident that even here the rendering "utterance," or "divine oracle," is unsuitable, especially in the first passage, where such an assumption gives rise to pure tautology ("the words of Agur, the son of Jakeh, the utterance"). We naturally expect the character of Agur's words to be more particularly described. In both these passages the meaning "burden" is the only appropriate one. The words of Agur in chap. xxx. 1 are a heavy burden, laid upon natural reason, which is so prone to exalt itself. Their purport is reproof. They condemn the grovelling prudence of man in the strongest possible terms: he who does not cherish simple faith in divine revelation is a mere animal and not a man. In Prov. xxxi. 1, "the burden, wherewith his mother *corrected* him," is the burdensome word, the severe lecture. In 1 Chr. xv. 27, שַׂר הַמַּשָּׂא is explained by *Gesenius* and *Winer* to mean the leader of the singing. But if we carefully examine the parallel passages (2 Chr. xxxv. 3; Num. iv. 19, 24, 27, 31, 32, 47, 49), we cannot fail to be convinced that מַשָּׂא refers to the carrying of the sacred things. The clause in 2 Kings ix. 25 should be rendered, "the Lord hath raised this burden upon him." Nothing but ignorance of the connexion between the word and the result, in the utterances of the prophets, could have led any one to pronounce the meaning *burden* "indefensible" in this instance, as *Delitzsch* has done. Even the meanings of the cognate word מַשָּׂאֵת *(bearing, the burden)* are derived from נָשָׂא, in the sense of "to lift," not "*to utter*." It is true that

Winer and *Gesenius* bring forward, as a proof of the opposite, Lam. ii. 14, where the predictions of the false prophets are called מַשְׂאוֹת שָׁוְא, which they render "vain prophecies." But the proper rendering is rather, "they see for thee vain burdens and captivities." The word מַדִּיחִים *(captivities, dispersions)*, which follows, is a sufficient proof that מַשְׂאוֹת must also relate to the enemy. The false prophets endeavoured to render themselves acceptable to the nation by predicting great calamities, which were to befal their powerful oppressors, *burdens* against the imperial powers. מַדִּיחִים cannot be rendered in any other way *(Gesenius*, seductiones), for the simple reason that Jeremiah, who uses נָדַח very frequently, always employs it in the sense of *driving away, dispersing.* Others *(e.g. Thenius)* refer the *expulsions* to Judah, which is, as it were, preached out of the land by the prophets. But the plural is a decisive proof that this is incorrect, for it clearly denotes a plurality of nations.

(3). Jer. xxiii. 33 sqq., the very passage which is commonly adduced to prove that מַשָּׂא means *prophecy*, is rather a proof of the opposite. According to the ordinary opinion, Jeremiah is represented here as being angry with the scoffers, because they take the word מַשָּׂא, which means prophecy, and use it in the sense of *burden*, on the assumption that he is sure to give utterance to none but evil predictions. But this assumption could hardly give such great offence to Jeremiah, or appear to him as so very ungodly, for, as a rule, his prophecies, previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, were of a mournful character, and he really had nothing but evil to announce to the scoffers. Their wickedness consisted rather in the fact that they used the word *burden* in a different sense from that in which the prophets used it, who always employed it to denote a prophecy announcing severe judgments from the Lord. They asked Jeremiah what the burden of the Lord was, what fresh *burdensome* prophecy he had to deliver. This wicked play upon the word, which afforded so deep an insight into the hearts of the scoffers, would have had no meaning, if מַשָּׂא had not been used by the prophets in the sense of *burden.*

(4). If מַשָּׂא means *utterance*, it is a very strange thing that

it is never followed by the genitive of the speaker, whether Jehovah or one of the prophets, but, with the exception of the passage before us, chap. xii. 1, and Mal. iii. 1, where the *Massa* of the word of the Lord is spoken of, is always connected with the genitive of the object, *e.g.*, "the *Massa* of Babylon," "the Massa of Dumah." In other passages, where the word occurs in the sense of *burden*, it is also connected with the genitive of the person who carries it, or upon whom it is laid. Moreover, if the word means simply an utterance, we cannot see why it should not be used of utterances generally.

(5). Various proofs might be given that the rendering utterance is unsuitable. The frequency with which it occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah, in the superscriptions of chap. xiii. 1, &c. (*vide* vol. ii., p. 134), hardly befits so common a word, and indicates some deeper meaning. Again the rendering *burden* is required by the כִּי *(for)* in Is. xv. 1: "the *burden* of Moab, *for* in the night Ar of Moab is laid waste." In Is. xxi. 1, the clause which follows is without a subject, if the rendering *burden* is rejected (*Michaelis*, "quod onus sicut turbines"). That Is. xxx. 6 must be translated, "the *burden* of the beasts of the south," is evident from the word יִשְׂאוּ "they carry," in which there is an allusion to מַשָּׂא. (The expression is applied to the Jews, who went in their brute-like folly to the south, and sought help from Egypt). In the passage before us and in Mal. iii. 1 we have pure tautology, if we adopt the rendering "utterance;" and nothing could be more at variance with the conciseness of the superscriptions. (How tame *Hitzig's* translation sounds: "utterance, word of Jehovah!")

(6). The rendering *burden*, in the passage before us, is more in harmony with the parallelism of the verse. מַשָּׂא corresponds to מְנוּחָה. The *burden* of the word of the Lord affects or falls upon Hadrach; his *rest* is Damascus.

According to Mal. iii. 1 and chap. xii. 1 of this book, the opening words must be regarded as a heading: "the burden of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach." The further details are connected with the superscription by "*and*," as if preceded by the expression "it is burdensome." This formal isolation of Hadrach is intended to direct attention to the fact,

that it stands on a different footing from the rest. The further particulars merely relate to the various portions, which stood in the closest relation to Judah. In the case of both Hadrach and Damascus the prophecy restricts itself to a general announcement of threatening calamity; and we may also observe that, as it is merely in the heading that the announcement respecting Hadrach is made at all, the relation, in which the others stand to this, must be that of parts to the whole. In the case of Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia, which were nearer to Judah, the prophecy enters more into details.—The announcement respecting Damascus resumes the prophecy against this city in Jer. xlix. 23 sqq., which was also delivered at a time when Damascus had long since lost its independent government. In that case also Hamath is associated with Damascus. Persia, the supreme empire, and Damascus, the heathen city, which surpassed Jerusalem in glory and contemptuously looked down upon its pretensions, were stones of stumbling, which the course of history was to take out of the way.

In the second part of the verse the reason is assigned for the divine judgments on Hadrach and Damascus, as well as on the nations mentioned afterwards. The providence of God rules over the whole earth, which lies open to his view. He must therefore eventually remove the existing disproportion between the fate of the covenant nation, and that of the heathen nations which he now appears to favour. Compare Mal. ii. 17, iii. 13 sqq., where the prophet represents the people as speaking, and complaining that the Lord sends them nothing but misfortune, whilst the heathen are blessed with glorious prosperity. Malachi had there to do with the ungodly portion of the nation, which failed to fulfil its covenant-obligations, and yet haughtily demanded the fulfilment of the promises associated with them. His reply is therefore a severe one. He threatens still greater judicial punishments. Zechariah, on the other hand, has the true members of the kingdom of God in his mind. And to them he promises, that the Lord will abolish the existing disproportion, and bring down the pride of the heathen nations. When God punishes the heathen for their sins, his "eye" is at the same time fixed upon the "tribes of Israel." According to vers. 7 and 10, the ultimate result of the judgments of God is the

favour. *Jarchi* and *Kimchi* say: "R. Juda the son of Elai (a pupil of Akiba of the time of Hadrian; *cf. Wolff* bibl. Hebr. i. p. 411) interpreted it as an allegorical expression relating to the Messiah, who is harsh (חד) to the heathen, and gentle (רך) to Israel. *Jerome* says, "assumptio verbi domini, acuti in peccatores, mollis in justos: Adrach quippe hoc resonat, ex duobus integris nomen compositum: Ad acutum, Rach molle tenerumque significans." We are quite willing to leave them their Messianic interpretation, and merely borrow their derivation of the word. According to the latter, the land of Chadrach is the land of *Harsh-gentle*, or *Strong-weak*, a land, which is now strong and mighty, but when the impending judgment shall fall, will at once be weakened and laid low.

Little evidence is required, that this explanation is perfectly admissible, so far as the rules of the language are concerned, and in fact that it is the only one, which can be sustained. That such combinations are customary not merely in the case of proper names, in the strict sense of the term, but also in symbolical appellations, is apparent from such examples as Ariel, Jehoshaphat, Abiad, &c. חד literally means *sharp* and *pointed*, and is applied to a sword in Ps. lvii. 5 and Is. xlix. 2; then, in a secondary sense, *acris, brave, strong, energetic.* In Arabic the verb حدّ signifies *vehemens fuit, durus in ira, pugna;* and the Hebrew חָדָד is used in the same sense in Hab. i. 8, where it is said of the horses of the Chaldeans חַדּוּ מִזְּאֵבֵי עֶרֶב, on which *Bochart* (opp. ii. c. 826) has very correctly observed: "I would refer חַדּוּ to the disposition, and understand the terms ὀξεῖς and *acres* as being applied to both wolves and horses, because of the speed and eagerness with which they execute whatever they determine to perform." No further evidence is required so far as רך is concerned, for it is universally admitted that it means *soft, tender*, and then *exhausted, weak.* It is very descriptive, as applied to the empires of the East at the period of their decline; compare רך לבב in Deut. xx. 8 and 2 Chr. xiii. 7, where it is used to denote effeminacy and want of vigour.

According to this explanation, the symbolical name given to he land contains in itself a prediction of its impending fate, the

substance of all that the prophet is about to declare respecting it. This conclusion recommends itself all the more in the case of a writer like Zechariah, whose prophecies are based upon those of earlier prophets, from whom many analogous passages might be quoted. The first, which we shall adduce, is Is. xxi. 1, where Babylon, whose overthrow is predicted, is called מִדְבַּר יָם, "the desert of the sea." From the etymology of the word and the general usage of the language, מדבר cannot possibly denote a cultivated plain, such as that which surrounded Babylon. It was applied first of all to land adapted for pasturage alone, and afterwards used to denote a desert. There can be no doubt, that Babylon is called "a desert," on account of the utter desolation which awaited it, and "a desert of the sea," because the waves of the sea of nations were to flow over it, and change it into a desert. For it is evident from Jer. li. 42, 43, and xlix. 23, that "the sea" referred to, is the sea of the nations which cause the desolation.—Another analogous example we find in the superscription "burden of Dumah," in Isaiah's prophecy against Edom (chap. xxi. 11). דּוּמָה means *silence*. The stillness of death was to reign in the desolate land. This figurative title is the more appropriate here, since the calamity is represented in the prophecy itself under the image of a cheerless and solitary night.—But the most striking analogy is in the name Sesach, which is applied to Babylon in Jer. xxv. 26, and li. 41. The Jewish expositors are unanimously of opinion that שֵׁשַׁךְ is the same as Babel according to the so-called *Atbash* alphabet. This opinion has been adopted by some of the Christian commentators, and particularly by *Jerome*, with very great confidence; but many reject it as a Jewish absurdity, and others again regard it as very questionable. But there can be no doubt as to its correctness. The disinclination to adopt it can hardly be accounted for on any other grounds than these, that, although the meaning of the word Sesach did not immediately appear, such a transposition was regarded as a useless amusement, foreign to the age of Jeremiah and unworthy of a prophet, and that the very name of the *Atbash alphabet* suggested the idea of something extremely complicated and artificial. But so far as the latter objection is concerned, nothing can be more simple than the construction of

petitioners. It contained in the germ that dead pharisaical reliance upon works, which subsequently increased more and more, until it became just as pernicious to the new colony, as outward idolatry, which sprang from precisely the same principle, had formerly been to the nation at large. This also exerted an injurious influence upon the estimate which they formed of the value of fasting. A custom which had no meaning, except as the outward manifestation of a penitent state of heart, was regarded as having worth in itself, as an *opus operatum*. It was supposed that merit was thereby acquired, and surprise and discontent were expressed, that God had not yet acknowledged and rewarded the service of so many years. The prophet points out how preposterous such a notion is, declares that the Lord requires something very different from this, namely the fulfilment of the moral precepts of his law, without which all outward service is pure hypocrisy, and calls attention to the fact that it was their failing to satisfy this demand, to which earlier prophets had loudly and repeatedly given utterance, which had brought upon the people that indescribable calamity, from which they had not yet recovered, and also that in future the same cause would necessarily be followed by the same effect.—In the *second part* of his address (chap. viii.) the prophet proceeds to meet the question with a direct reply, the substance of which could no longer confirm the hypocrites in their carnal security, but might serve to comfort and strengthen such as were weak in faith, both in his own and subsequent times, until the appearance of Christ himself. The following is a summary of his reply. Such abundant deliverance was in reserve for the covenant nation, that not only the day on which Jerusalem was destroyed, but the other days also, which had been set apart as fast-days, in commemoration of peculiarly mournful events in connexion with their past history, such, for example, as the capture of Jerusalem in the fourth month, the murder of Gedaliah in the seventh, and the commencement of the siege in the tenth, would all be altered into days of rejoicing ; for the blessings, which they were about to receive, would be far greater than those which they had lost on the days referred to. In this reply the prophet embraced the whole of the blessings of salvation intended for the covenant nation, and the full meaning of his declaration was first realised

in Christ. The conclusion (ver. 20—23) relates exclusively to the manner in which the kingdom of God would be glorified by Him, and, as a still further expansion of Micah iv. 2, Is. ii. 3, and Jer xxxi. 6, it contains a description of the eagerness with which heathen nations would strive for admission into the kingdom of God.

CHAP. IX. 1—10.

A hostile army sweeps victoriously over the Persian empire, and casts it down from the summit of its glory. The prophet more especially describes its march through those provinces of the empire, which bordered immediately upon Judea, that the contrast with their gloomy fate may place the better lot of the covenant nation in a still more brilliant light. Whilst Damascus and Hamath are overtaken by the judgment of God and fall into the hands of the conqueror; whilst all the wealth of Tyre, its bulwarks and its insular position, fail to secure its safety, and it is taken and given up to the flames; whilst the neighbouring Philistia is despoiled of its ancient splendour, and its leading cities, Askelon, Gaza, Ekron, and Ashdod, fall into the deepest obscurity; Jerusalem is still saved from destruction by the protecting hand of the Lord (ver. 1—8). There can be no doubt, that we have here as graphic an account of the expedition of Alexander the Great, as is consistent with the permanent distinction between prophecy and history.[1] In the main points the exact agreement between prophecy and history may be proved

[1] Compare, for example, the historical account given by *Stark (Gaza und die philistäische Küste,* Jena 52 p. 237) with the prophetic description in the passage before us. He writes, "The plan laid down by Alexander after the battle of Issus, to commence by destroying the power of Persia along the coast, had led him to Phoenicia. All the other cities, and even Cyprus, submitted to him. Tyre, the heart and centre of the maritime strength of Persia, was the only one which defied him. After seven months of great exertion, including works upon the water, and naval engagements, it was captured in July 332. All resistance to the mighty progress of Alexander now seemed in vain. The whole of Coele-Syria and Palestine fell into his power. Gaza was the only city which offered any resistance," &c.

this alphabet, in which the last letter of the ordinary alphabet (ת) is substituted for the first (א), the last but one (ש) for the second (ב), and so on (*vide Buxtorf lex. Chald.* s. v. אתבש and his *de abbreviaturis Hebr.* p. 41). The reasons for supposing that Jeremiah has really followed this plan are the following: (1). It cannot be purely an accidental circumstance that the name שֵׁשַׁךְ, according to the *Atbash* alphabet, corresponds exactly to the word for which it is substituted. (2). There is another instance, in which Jeremiah has undoubtedly made use of this *Atbash* alphabet. In chap. li. 1 the prophet says, "thus saith the Lord, behold I will raise up against Babylon, and against those that dwell in the heart of my foes, a destroying wind." The strange expression, "the heart of my foes," excites surprise. But the difficulty is removed by the remark made by *Jarchi* and *Abenezra*, that, when the two words are read together, according to the *Atbash* alphabet, they form the word כַּשְׂדִּים. There can be the less doubt as to the correctness of the explanation in this instance, on account of the number of the letters, which renders it less likely to be an accidental circumstance, than in the case of *Babel*. To this we may add the fact, that in other passages Jeremiah not merely uses the word כַּשְׂדִּים (Chaldeans) for the land of the Chaldeans (as in chap. l. 10), but connects together *Babel* and *Joshbe Kasdim*, as in the verse before us. See, for example, chap. li. 35. The suitableness of this play upon the word,—the Chaldeans being called the heart of the foes of God, as being the bitterest enemies of his people, is at once apparent. The key to the interpretation of this passage appears to have been handed down by tradition, and not first discovered by the Jews of later times. The rendering given in the Septuagint καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Χαλδαίους shows that the translators had it *already*, or rather *still*, in their possession. The Chaldee version itself, ארעא דכשדאי, proves the same thing. And if *Symmachus* had not been looking for something else in the expression, he would not have retained the Hebrew word (Λεβκάμμα) in his translation.

But the question still remains, what does the word *Sesach* mean? For if no meaning can be discovered, the name is still open to the charge of being merely a *jeu d'esprit*. But we may infer from the analogy of לֵב קָמַי, that such a meaning does

exist; nor can we be long in doubt as to what it really is. If we observe the formation of בָּבֶל itself, which is derived from בָּלַל, "to confound," and means "confusion," as the Book of Genesis expressly affirms, which Jeremiah certainly had in his mind at the time—the word שֵׁשַׁךְ must be a derivation of the verb שָׁכַךְ, the irregularity in the form of the word being thus sufficiently explained. This is confirmed by the fact, that the infinitive שֵׁשַׁךְ occurs in Jer. v. 26; although it is otherwise very rarely employed. And we may still farther add the appropriateness of the meaning itself. שָׁכַךְ is applied in Gen. viii. 1 to the decreasing waters of the flood; and in Jer. v. 26 to the stooping posture of bird-catchers. Hence the word *Sesach* must mean a *sinking down*, and in this case we have a commentary on the name in Jer. li. 64: "thus shall Babylon sink and not rise, through the evil that I will bring upon her."[1]—It will be obvious by this time that there is an analogy between Sesach and Hadrach.

It only remains to enquire what kingdom Zechariah refers to. Everything points to the Persian empire. (1). The name itself shows that the kingdom must have been one, which was then at the summit of its glory and power. But, of all the kingdoms which were in any way related to the covenant nation, the Persian was the only one, of which this could be said. All the rest were subject to it; and there was no other, to which the predicate חָזָק could be applied.—(2). This explanation is most in accordance with the whole of the contents of vers. 1—8. If the expedition of Alexander is referred to in these verses, nothing could be more suitable, than for the prophet to speak of the empire itself, the leading object of the expedition, before pro-

1 That the reason why Sesach and Lebkamai are used in the place of the proper names, is not to be sought in the prudence of the prophet, is evident from the fact that the ordinary names are given *as well*. When *Nägelsbach* expresses the opinion, as others had done before him, that "the use of such amusing inventions is unworthy of a prophet" (der Prophet Jeremias und Babylon, p. 134), he shows that he has not sufficiently considered the feelings of those for whom the names were written. *Babel* and *Kasdim* were at that time the names, which sounded the most terrible in an Israelitish ear. The prophet deprives them of all that is terrible, by means of a slight alteration, by which he indicates that the ruin of Babylon is concealed beneath its greatness, and that the Chaldeans are regarded by the Almighty as the heart of his enemies.

ceeding to describe the fate of the various places, which were dependent upon it.—(3). This at once explains, why Zechariah employs a symbolical name in this case alone, and calls all the other places by their proper names. Zechariah lived during the supremacy of Persia; and the propriety of mentioning the Persians by name would be all the more questionable, since the enemies of the Jews did everything in their power to convince the former of their disposition to rebel; (see Ezra iv. 12, 13). Zechariah prophesied at the very time, when Judah was constrained to pray, "deliver my soul, O Lord, from lying lips, and from the deceitful tongue" (Ps. cxx. 2), and when the Samaritans were watching every movement, to find materials on which to found an accusation at the Persian court. The introduction of the names of the other places, which were subject to the Persians, could not so easily be employed as the ground of a charge, since it might be assumed that in the event of a rebellion, the Persians themselves would be the conquerors.—(4). The construction shows that *Hadrach* does not stand upon the same footing as the rest, but is rather the imperial power of which all the others were but so many different portions.—(5). In chap. ix. 13 the next phase of the imperial power is very clearly pointed out as the Grecian. Greece could not possibly oppress Judah, without first taking the place of the imperial power, which was in existence then. And if Hadrach denotes the latter, it must mean the Persian empire. Daniel had already announced the overthrow of Persia by Greece (chap. viii. 5—7, cmp. 21), and with his announcement the prophecy of Zechariah is immediately connected.

Ver. 1. "*The burden of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach, and Damascus is its rest; for the Lord has an eye upon men and upon all the tribes of Israel.*"

From the very earliest times two different renderings have been given of the word מַשָּׂא, which occurs in the superscriptions of the prophecies. By some it is rendered *burden*, namely by *Jonathan*, *Aquila*, in the *Syriac* version, and particularly by *Jerome*, who says in his note on Nahum. i. 1, "Massa autem nunquam praefertur in titulo, nisi cum grave et ponderis laborisque plenum est, quod videtur." (See the the remarks on Hab. i. 1 and Is. xiii. 1). For a long time this rendering, if not the

only one, was at least the one commonly received.—By others, again, it is rendered *utterance, prophecy.* It is in this sense that the word has been taken by the *Septuagint* translators, who have sometimes rendered it ὅραμα, ὅρασις, ῥῆμα, and very frequently λῆμμα, *acceptio.* In consequence of the adoption of the latter by *Cocceius* (lex. *s. v.*), *Vitringa* (on Is. xiii. 1), *Aurivillius* (dissertt. p. 560) and *Michaelis* (supplem. p. 1685), it has forced the other to a great extent into the shade. Latterly it has met with almost universal acceptance. But there are strong reasons for rejecting it.

(1). It would be a strange coincidence that מַשָּׂא, although quite as suitable for the superscription of predictions, which are full of promises, as of those which consist entirely of threatenings, should be found exclusively in the latter. Not only is this the case, but it occurs so frequently, that it cannot for a moment be regarded as accidental. It is unanimously admitted that Isaiah never uses the word except in connection with such prophecies (*vide* chap. xiii. 1, xiv. 28, xv. 1, xvii. 1, xix. 1, xxi. 1, 11, 13, xxii. 1, xxiii. 1). Now if this was peculiar to Isaiah, there would be something plausible in *Gesenius'* otherwise unfounded conjecture, that the prophecies against foreign nations originally formed a separate collection, the author of which was very fond of the expression, and always employed it in his superscriptions. But when we find that the same rule prevails throughout, that in Nahum, Habakkuk, Zechariah, and Malachi, the word is still restricted to prophecies of a denunciatory character, it is at once apparent that, in Isaiah and the other prophets, the practice must rest upon a common basis, which cannot be any other, than that the meaning of the word was such as to render it suitable for the superscription of threatening prophecies alone. The only passage, adduced by *Vitringa*, *Michaelis*, and others in support of their statement, that it is also used in connexion with prophecies of a cheerful character, is Zech. xii. 1. But, as we shall afterwards see when we come to expound it, only because they have misinterpreted the passage. *Gesenius* has most inconceivably added Mal. i. 1. The fact that it is connected in this instance with a prophecy of a threatening character is so conspicuous as to need no proof whatever. Those who contend for the meaning *utterance*, are perfectly unable to

explain the acknowledged fact that the word is used *almost* without exception in connection with prophecies containing threats. *Delitzsch* (on Hab. i. 1) thinks that "the reason why this word is more especially used in connexion with prophecies of a threatening nature, is to be found in custom alone, and not in the etymology or meaning of the word itself." But what gave rise to this custom?

(2). It is impossible to bring forward an instance of the use of מַשָּׂא as a noun, derived from נָשָׂא in the sense of "to utter." In fact the verb itself has no such meaning (see my commentary on Ps. xv. 3). It is always used as a derivative from נָשָׂא, in the sense of "to lift." The most plausible passages are Prov. xxx. 1 and xxxi. 1. But on closer examination, it is evident that even here the rendering "utterance," or "divine oracle," is unsuitable, especially in the first passage, where such an assumption gives rise to pure tautology ("the words of Agur, the son of Jakeh, the utterance"). We naturally expect the character of Agur's words to be more particularly described. In both these passages the meaning "burden" is the only appropriate one. The words of Agur in chap. xxx. 1 are a heavy burden, laid upon natural reason, which is so prone to exalt itself. Their purport is reproof. They condemn the grovelling prudence of man in the strongest possible terms: he who does not cherish simple faith in divine revelation is a mere animal and not a man. In Prov. xxxi. 1, "the burden, wherewith his mother *corrected* him," is the burdensome word, the severe lecture. In 1 Chr. xv. 27, שַׂר הַמַּשָּׂא is explained by *Gesenius* and *Winer* to mean the leader of the singing. But if we carefully examine the parallel passages (2 Chr. xxxv. 3; Num. iv. 19, 24, 27, 31, 32, 47, 49), we cannot fail to be convinced that מַשָּׂא refers to the carrying of the sacred things. The clause in 2 Kings ix. 25 should be rendered, "the Lord hath raised this burden upon him." Nothing but ignorance of the connexion between the word and the result, in the utterances of the prophets, could have led any one to pronounce the meaning *burden* "indefensible" in this instance, as *Delitzsch* has done. Even the meanings of the cognate word מַשָּׂאֵת *(bearing, the burden)* are derived from נָשָׂא, in the sense of "to lift," not "*to utter*." It is true that

Winer and *Gesenius* bring forward, as a proof of the opposite, Lam. ii. 14, where the predictions of the false prophets are called מַשְׂאוֹת שָׁוְא, which they render "vain prophecies." But the proper rendering is rather, "they see for thee vain burdens and captivities." The word מַדִּיחִים *(captivities, dispersions)*, which follows, is a sufficient proof that מַשְׂאוֹת must also relate to the enemy. The false prophets endeavoured to render themselves acceptable to the nation by predicting great calamities, which were to befal their powerful oppressors, *burdens* against the imperial powers. מַדִּיחִים cannot be rendered in any other way *(Gesenius*, seductiones), for the simple reason that Jeremiah, who uses נָדַח very frequently, always employs it in the sense of *driving away, dispersing.* Others *(e.g. Thenius)* refer the *expulsions* to Judah, which is, as it were, preached out of the land by the prophets. But the plural is a decisive proof that this is incorrect, for it clearly denotes a plurality of nations.

(3). Jer. xxiii. 33 sqq., the very passage which is commonly adduced to prove that מַשָּׂא means *prophecy*, is rather a proof of the opposite. According to the ordinary opinion, Jeremiah is represented here as being angry with the scoffers, because they take the word מַשָּׂא, which means prophecy, and use it in the sense of *burden*, on the assumption that he is sure to give utterance to none but evil predictions. But this assumption could hardly give such great offence to Jeremiah, or appear to him as so very ungodly, for, as a rule, his prophecies, previous to the destruction of Jerusalem, were of a mournful character, and he really had nothing but evil to announce to the scoffers. Their wickedness consisted rather in the fact that they used the word *burden* in a different sense from that in which the prophets used it, who always employed it to denote a prophecy announcing severe judgments from the Lord. They asked Jeremiah what the burden of the Lord was, what fresh *burdensome* prophecy he had to deliver. This wicked play upon the word, which afforded so deep an insight into the hearts of the scoffers, would have had no meaning, if מַשָּׂא had not been used by the prophets in the sense of *burden.*

(4). If מַשָּׂא means *utterance*, it is a very strange thing that

it is never followed by the genitive of the speaker, whether Jehovah or one of the prophets, but, with the exception of the passage before us, chap. xii. 1, and Mal. iii. 1, where the *Massa* of the word of the Lord is spoken of, is always connected with the genitive of the object, *e.g.*, "the *Massa* of Babylon," "the Massa of Dumah." In other passages, where the word occurs in the sense of *burden*, it is also connected with the genitive of the person who carries it, or upon whom it is laid. Moreover, if the word means simply an utterance, we cannot see why it should not be used of utterances generally.

(5). Various proofs might be given that the rendering utterance is unsuitable. The frequency with which it occurs in the prophecies of Isaiah, in the superscriptions of chap. xiii. 1, &c., *(vide* vol. ii., p. 134), hardly befits so common a word, and indicates some deeper meaning. Again the rendering *burden* is required by the כִּי *(for)* in Is. xv. 1: "the *burden* of Moab, *for* in the night Ar of Moab is laid waste." In Is. xxi. 1, the clause which follows is without a subject, if the rendering *burden* is rejected *(Michaelis*, "quod onus sicut turbines"). That Is. xxx. 6 must be translated, "the *burden* of the beasts of the south," is evident from the word יִשְׂאוּ "they carry," in which there is an allusion to מַשָּׂא. (The expression is applied to the Jews, who went in their brute-like folly to the south, and sought help from Egypt). In the passage before us and in Mal. iii. 1 we have pure tautology, if we adopt the rendering "utterance;" and nothing could be more at variance with the conciseness of the superscriptions. (How tame *Hitzig's* translation sounds: "utterance, word of Jehovah!")

(6). The rendering *burden*, in the passage before us, is more in harmony with the parallelism of the verse. מַשָּׂא corresponds to מְנוּחָה. The *burden* of the word of the Lord affects or falls upon Hadrach; his *rest* is Damascus.

According to Mal. iii. 1 and chap. xii. 1 of this book, the opening words must be regarded as a heading: "the burden of the word of the Lord on the land of Hadrach." The further details are connected with the superscription by "*and*," as if preceded by the expression "it is burdensome." This formal isolation of Hadrach is intended to direct attention to the fact.

that it stands on a different footing from the rest. The further particulars merely relate to the various portions, which stood in the closest relation to Judah. In the case of both Hadrach and Damascus the prophecy restricts itself to a general announcement of threatening calamity; and we may also observe that, as it is merely in the heading that the announcement respecting Hadrach is made at all, the relation, in which the others stand to this, must be that of parts to the whole. In the case of Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia, which were nearer to Judah, the prophecy enters more into details.—The announcement respecting Damascus resumes the prophecy against this city in Jer. xlix. 23 sqq., which was also delivered at a time when Damascus had long since lost its independent government. In that case also Hamath is associated with Damascus. Persia, the supreme empire, and Damascus, the heathen city, which surpassed Jerusalem in glory and contemptuously looked down upon its pretensions, were stones of stumbling, which the course of history was to take out of the way.

In the second part of the verse the reason is assigned for the divine judgments on Hadrach and Damascus, as well as on the nations mentioned afterwards. The providence of God rules over the whole earth, which lies open to his view. He must therefore eventually remove the existing disproportion between the fate of the covenant nation, and that of the heathen nations which he now appears to favour. Compare Mal. ii. 17, iii. 13 sqq., where the prophet represents the people as speaking, and complaining that the Lord sends them nothing but misfortune, whilst the heathen are blessed with glorious prosperity. Malachi had there to do with the ungodly portion of the nation, which failed to fulfil its covenant-obligations, and yet haughtily demanded the fulfilment of the promises associated with them. His reply is therefore a severe one. He threatens still greater judicial punishments. Zechariah, on the other hand, has the true members of the kingdom of God in his mind. And to them he promises, that the Lord will abolish the existing disproportion, and bring down the pride of the heathen nations. When God punishes the heathen for their sins, his "eye" is at the same time fixed upon the "tribes of Israel." According to vers. 7 and 10, the ultimate result of the judgments of God is the

conversion of the heathen, by which the tribes of Israel are delivered from the state of oppression in which they have hitherto lived in the midst of the heathen world. The humbling of the nations of the world breaks their heart, and prepares them for the coming of the kingdom of God. עין, followed by a genitive, is used here to denote the eye, which belongs to a person so far as it is directed towards him; compare ver 8, "for now I see with mine eyes." אדם (man) is contrasted with "all the tribes of Israel," and is therefore restricted to the rest of mankind, to the exclusion of the Israelites. The prophet appears to have taken the antithesis from Jer. xxxii. 19, in which we also find a complete parallel to the second half of the verse before us.

Ver. 2. "*Hamath also, which borders thereon, Tyre and Sidon, because it is very wise.*"

We must supply "will be the rest *(Ruhe)* of the word of God." The suffix in בה refers to Damascus alone, since Hamath stood in a very different relation to Hadrach; and the expression, "which borders thereon," appears at first sight to be almost superfluous, for the situation of Hamath was generally known. It is this idea, which has given occasion to the rendering, "Hamath will border thereon;" in other words, "just as Hamath is closely connected with Damascus by proximity of situation, so will it also be by community of suffering"—a meaning which the prophet would certainly have expressed more clearly. But the expression is not superfluous at all. It connects Hamath with Damascus,—the two together representing Syria,—and severs it from Tyre and Sidon, the representatives of Phœnicia; the close connexion between these two being also indicated by the singular חכמה.—כי cannot be rendered *quamvis* (although); it is a causative particle, even in this passage. In fact, even if it were fully proved that it had sometimes a different meaning, the parallel passages, which are of especial importance in the case of Zechariah, would necessitate the adoption of this rendering here *(vide Dissertation on Daniel*, &c., p. 298). "Because thou hast set thine heart as the heart of God," says Ezekiel to the king of Tyre, who is regarded by him as the representative of the whole nation, "*therefore* I will bring strangers upon thee" (chap. xxviii. 6). The mental blindness of the Tyrians, who detracted from the glory of God, and attri-

buted everything to themselves, is represented throughout as the *cause* of the judgment which impended over them. Again, the expression "*because it is very wise*," must not be altered, without further explanation, into "because it thinks itself very wise." That the prophet referred to a real, and not merely to an *imaginary* wisdom, is evident from ver. 3, where the wisdom of Tyre is represented as leading her to fortify herself strongly, and accumulate treasures. But her wisdom is the wisdom of this world (1 Cor. i. 20), that "earthly, sensual wisdom" (James iii. 15), which is inseparably connected with blindness and exaggeration (*vide* Ezek. xxviii. 3, 4). Such wisdom as this, the opposite of "the wisdom that is from above," is sinful in itself, and not only fosters, but also springs from pride.—It is not the hostility of Tyre to Israel, which is represented here as the cause of the divine judgments,—as is the case in the prophecies of Amos and Zephaniah, which have been erroneously described as completely resembling the prophecy before us, and also in part at least in that of Ezekiel (chap. xxvi. 2),—but simply its pride of wisdom. The precise direction taken by the wisdom of the Tyrians may be seen, partly from the next verse, and partly from Ezek. xxviii. 4, 5: "by thy wisdom and by thine understanding thou hast acquired power, and filled thy treasures with gold and silver; by thy great wisdom in thy commerce hast thou obtained great power, and thy heart has exalted itself, because of thy power."—The singular חָכְמָה (wise) shows that צֹר וְצִידוֹן is to be understood as meaning *Tyre with Sidon;* in other words, that Sidon is to be regarded as an appendage of Tyre, the two together forming an ideal unity. In perfect harmony with the use of the singular here, is the fact that Ezekiel, whom Zechariah had before his mind, speaks of the wisdom of the *Tyrians* alone, and that in the third verse, where the particular manifestations of this wisdom are described, Zechariah also merely mentions Tyre. The reason why Sidon is thus appended to Tyre, can only be learned from history. Although Tyre was founded by Sidon, the latter had afterwards to relinquish her precedence, and in fact became in a certain sense dependent upon the former. This is presupposed in the account of the time of Shalmanezer, given in the extract from *Menander*, which is quoted by *Josephus* (Antiquities. 9. 14. 2), where Sidon is

said to have "*revolted* from Tyre" (*ἀπέστη τε Τυρίων Σιδὼν καὶ Ἄκη καὶ ἡ πάλαι Τύρος καὶ πολλαὶ ἄλλαι πόλεις, αἳ τῷ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἑαυτὰς βασιλεῖ παρέδοσαν*). The expression employed in Is. xxiii. 2, where Tyre is said to be "filled with the merchants of Sidon," points to the same subordinate relation; unless, indeed, *Gesenius* is right in understanding Sidon in this passage as standing for Phoenicia in general, a custom which might naturally arise in the earlier times, when Sidon was still the capital of the Phoenicians, but of which no satisfactory proof can be found in any later portion of its history. At any rate the inferiority of Sidon is apparent enough in Ezek. xxvii. 8, "the inhabitants of Sidon and Arvad were thy mariners," which *Theodoret* paraphrases thus: "the Sidonians, who were once thy rulers, now fill thy fleet, along with the inhabitants of Arad, and row thy vessels; and those who were wise in thy esteem, act as thy pilots." Just as in the case before us, we find, both in Isaiah and Ezekiel, the prophecy concerning Sidon simply appended to that respecting Tyre, and the fate of the former represented as interwoven with that of the latter (*vide* Is. xxiii. 4, 12, and Ezek. xxviii. 21 sqq.).

Ver. 3. "*And Tyre has built herself strongholds and heaped up silver as dust, and gold as dirt in the streets.*"

The sinful *confidence*, which she reposed in her fortresses and wealth, is shown in the emphatic לָהּ. The same may be said of Ezek. xxviii. 2, where the king of Tyre boasts that he sits "in the midst of the seas," and is therefore beyond the reach of any assault. According to *Diodorus Siculus* (17. 40) the Tyrians resolved to offer resistance to Alexander, "from their confidence in their defences, and the preparations they had made upon the island." מצור was no doubt selected by the prophet, partly with reference to its secondary meaning "*want, distress*,"[1] and partly also because of its resemblance to the name צר, Tyre.

Ver. 4. "*Behold the Lord will deliver her up, and smite her bulwarks in the sea; and she herself will be destroyed by fire.*"

On this view *Theodoret* observes: "Since they have cut them-

[1] Notatur munitionem fore in contritionem." *Cocceius.*

selves off from the protection of God, they shall have a taste of his strength;" and *Cyril*, "nothing will ever avail those who resist God." By the exclamation "*behold*," the prophet, who sees by means of his inward vision the approach of the threatening storm, calls upon his hearers and readers to witness the manner in which the proud hopes of the Tyrians are destroyed. יִרַּשׁ, in the Hiphil, means "to cause to possess," or "to cause anything to be possessed," hence "to deliver up." *Calvin* has correctly observed, that this clause relates more especially to the accumulation of gold and silver mentioned in the previous verse, just as the second clause refers to the fortifications. Tyre, whose confidence in her own possessions is now so great, passes at length, along with all her treasures, into the possession of her enemies. On account of this very allusion to the preceding verse, we cannot render the clause, "the Lord will take her in possession," as the *Septuagint* and *Vulgate* have done (*διὰ τοῦτο κύριος κληρονομήσει αὐτήν*; ecce dominus possidebit eam); nor can we adopt the rendering given by *Jahn*, "he will drive them out," since the next clause sufficiently proves that it is a mistake to suppose, that the city stands for its inhabitants; nor, lastly, can we translate it, "he will make her poor," as others have done, for the verb never has this meaning, not excepting even 1 Sam. ii. 7.—That the proper rendering is "in the sea," not "into the sea," is evident from the parallel passage, chap. x. 11, "he smites the waves in the sea." "*Into the sea*" would have no meaning here. And חַיִל, in the verse before us, just as "the waves" in the passage just referred to, must denote something which is already in the sea, and which is smitten there. Moreover, the former rendering gives a much more suitable meaning. If the city was taken, it would follow as a matter of course, that the bulwarks of Tyre would be smitten *into* the sea. As the fortifications of Tyre were washed by the sea, they must of necessity to some extent fall into it, when the city was captured. On the other hand, the announcement that the walls were to be smitten *in* the sea introduces a new element of a most essential character. There were three things on which the Tyrians rested their confidence in their invincibility, their treasures, their fortifications, and their insular position. The last, and in fact the most

important, of the three, on which Ezekiel lays peculiar emphasis in the original passage (chap. xxviii. 2, 8), and upon which the Tyrians themselves placed the greatest reliance, at the time when the prophecy was fulfilled,[1] is introduced here by Zechariah for the first time.

Ver. 5. "*Ashkelon sees it and is afraid; Gaza also, and trembles exceedingly; and Ekron, because her hope is put to shame; Gaza loses her king, and Ashkelon shall not sit.*"

The prophet follows the march of the conqueror along the Mediterranean Sea, commencing with Phoenicia and ending with Philistia. Or, looked at in another light, the four places in the north, consisting of two pairs, the Syrian and Phoenician, are here followed by the four in the west, that is, in Philistia. The omission of Gath, one of the five leading cities of Philistia, not only in the passage before us, but also in the other passages, on which this is based (viz. Amos i. 6—8; Zeph. ii. 4; Jer. xxv. 20), may no doubt be explained from the fact that the prophet's plan required that the number mentioned should be limited to four. Zechariah attaches himself immediately to Jeremiah, the last of his predecessors in that prophetic chain, of which he is to form a link. *The order is precisely the same*, and we may be sure that this is not accidental. The meaning of this arrangement is admirably explained by *Cyril:* "for they thought that the strength of Tyre would avail as a bulwark for themselves; when therefore they saw her prostrate, they would at length be deprived of all their hope." Zechariah seems also to have had certain passages of earlier prophets in view, particularly Jer. xxiii., where the alarm which would seize upon the neighbouring nations and cities, in consequence of the fall of this insular fortress, is depicted in various ways. Thus in ver. 5 the prophet says, "when the report reaches to Egypt, they will tremble at the report concerning Tyre;" and ver. 4, "be thou ashamed, O Sidon;" but more emphatically still in ver. 11, "he stretches out his hand over the sea and shakes the kingdoms. And he says: thou shalt no more rejoice, thou disgraced daughter Sidon," &c. —מָבְטָח and מַבָּט: the object at which one looks, the thing hoped for. There is almost a verbal parallel in Is. xx. 5, "they are

[1] Κατεγέλων τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἑαυτὸν δοκεῖ περιέσεσθαι. Diodorus Siculus 17. 41.

ashamed of Cushaea, towards which they looked." It is not said that *the* king, but *a* king perishes from Gaza, which is equivalent to "Gaza will no more possess a king." Hence there is no allusion to the personal overthrow of one particular king of Gaza, as many commentators suppose. Compare the parallel passage Amos i. 8, "I cut off the inhabitant from Ashdod, and him that holdeth the sceptre from Ashkelon," and Jer. xlix. 38. These parallel passages show, that the disappearance of the king from the city denotes the utter ruin and extinction of the city itself; so that it corresponds exactly to the last clause, "Ashkelon will not sit" which most commentators have erroneously rendered, "it will not be inhabited," (*cf.* chap. xii. 6). We need not be surprised to find a king of Gaza mentioned among the subjects of Persia. It is a well known fact, that the Philistines were governed by kings from the very earliest times. And, as a rule, the sovereigns of the great empires of the East allowed the regal dignity to remain in all the conquered countries in which they found it, and contented themselves with making the kings tributary, whilst they distinguished themselves from all the rest by the title of "king of kings," *cf.* Ezek. xxvi. 7.[1] It was nothing but repeated insurrections, which led the Chaldeans to deprive the Jews and Tyrians of their kings; and in the case of the latter the regal dignity was restored, even during their subjection to the empire. The kings of Tyre and Sidon are expressly referred to in connexion with Alexander's expedition, a clear proof that the Persians also had allowed the regal dignity to continue in these regions. The commander of the Persian garrison in Gaza, a man named Betis, is called βασιλεὺς by Hegesias, who lived under the first Ptolemies, and was one of the earliest writers of the history of Alexander. But even if this title is incorrect, and Betis was merely a Persian officer, there is no reason why there should not have been a native king in existence *at the same time.*

Ver. 6. "*And a rabble dwells at Ashdod, and I exterminate the pride of the Philistines.*"

[1] "It was a part of the Persian system generally, either to maintain the existing ruling families, or to appoint fresh rulers from among the natives, as, for example, in the Greek cities and islands of Asia Minor and elsewhere" (*Stark* p. 230). *Herodotus*, again, speaks of "Kings of Syria," who were subject to Persia, Book 8. chap. 37.

The only other passage in which מַמְזֵר occurs is Deut. xxiii. 2, and the meaning "foreigner" is quite unsuitable there. *Maurer* is quite wrong in adducing Is. lvi. 3 sqq., in connexion with Deut. xxiii. 2, to support this rendering. In the expression, "son of the stranger," which occurs in Isaiah, there is much more probably an allusion to Deut. xxiii. 3. There can be no doubt that ממזר is correctly explained, by those who understand it as denoting a person, to whose birth some considerable blemish attaches. In the present instance it stands for *rabble*, such as generally collect together in colonies. There are some who erroneously assume that the expression, "*I exterminate the pride of the Philistines*," is equivalent to "I exterminate the proud Philistines." But the prophet cannot mean this, for in the very next verse he predicts the *conversion*, at some future time, of the remnant of the Philistines. The pride of the Philistines is rather the objects of their pride, their fortified cities, their warlike power, and their wealth. These were to be all taken away from them; and they themselves were to sink into obscurity. These words embrace the whole substance of the prophecy against the Philistines, and apply to the entire nation, what had previously been said of the various cities. The extermination of their pride, referred to here, is the foundation of the conversion predicted in ver. 7. Even with the people of the covenant, the Lord adopts the same method as with the heathen nations. The extermination of the *pride*, mentioned in this verse, is equivalent to the extermination from Israel of horse and chariot and battle-bow, which is spoken of in ver. 10, as the necessary condition of the universal dominion to be afterwards obtained in Christ.

Ver. 7. "*And I take away his blood out of his mouth, and his abominations from between his teeth; and even he remains to our God, and he becomes like a prince in Judah, and Ekron like the Jebusite.*"

Beneath the whole of this verse there lies a personification of the Philistine nation; and this serves to explain, not only the singular suffix, and the הוּא, but also the clause, which is so frequently misunderstood, "and he becomes like a prince in Judah." By the *blood* we are to understand, not the blood of the enemies slain by the Philistines, the Israelites for example, but the blood of the sacrificial animals, which it was a custom

with idolatrous nations to drink at their sacrifices, either quite pure, or mixed with wine (for proofs see *J. D. Michaelis*, "*die drei wichtigsten Psalmen von Christo*," p. 107 sqq.). The abolition of one particular abomination of idolatry is selected here, to indicate the abolition of idolatry generally.—שִׁקּוּצִים, abominations, is a term invariably applied to idolatry; see the remarks on Dan ix. 27. Hence it cannot be understood to mean the meat offered to idols. The expression, "from their teeth," is rather employed to show that they held their idols so firmly *mordicus*, that it required such desperate means, as the overwhelming judgments referred to here, to eradicate their tendency to idolatry.—גַּם is understood by many expositors as referring to the Israelites, a remnant of whom, according to the frequent declaration of the prophets, would repent and be preserved amidst the heavy judgments, which were to be poured out upon them by the Lord. But such an allusion would be too remote, for the prophet, who has said nothing as yet about the Israelites at all, to have any reason to expect that he would be understood. The actual allusion is rather to the places already mentioned, Hadrach, Syria, and Phoenicia. By this one little word, the prophet opens up the grand prospect of their future conversion. He points to the fact that what is here said with immediate reference to the Philistines, is but a particular application of a general truth, which is afterwards expressly announced in ver. 10 in its more general form; viz., *that the entrance to the kingdom of God will be one day thrown open to the whole heathen world.* See also chap. xiv. 9, "then will the Lord be king over all the earth." In the words, "*and he will be as a tribe-prince in Judah*," the representative, or ideal head of the nation, is introduced as enjoying the dignity of a prince on the same footing as the native princes themselves; the idea being, that the nation of Philistia would be received at some future time as part of the covenant nation, and enjoy precisely the same privileges as all the rest. (For אַלּוּף see the remarks on chap. xii. 6). A similar mode of representation is adopted in Matt. ii. 6, where Bethlehem is said to be "not the least among the princes of Judah," an expression which it is also impossible to explain, except on the supposition that the city is personified. Even Micah (chap. v. 2)

represents Bethlehem under the figure of its ideal representative. Nearly the same idea is expressed in the last clause, "*Ekron will be like the Jebusite.*" The Jebusites, the ancient possessors of Jerusalem, had dwelt there in common with the inhabitants of the city, who were unable to drive them out, till the time of David. They were conquered by David; and all that remained were incorporated with the nation of the Lord, on their adoption of the Israelitish religion. This is apparent from 2 Sam. xxiv. and 1 Chr. xxi., where Araunah, the Jebusite, is represented as a man of property and distinction, who lived in the midst of the covenant nation, and whose estate was selected by David under divine direction, as the site of the future temple. Many similar instances may be found, in which a transition is made from an account of the judgments, impending over the heathen nations, to an announcement of their eventual reception into the kingdom of God, for which all their humiliations were intended to prepare them, and which alone, as being the ultimate objects of all the leadings of God, placed in its proper light whatever had gone before; compare, for example, Is. xix., vol. 2, p. 143, 144, and the remarks on Haggai ii. 7.

Ver. 8. "*And I fix for my house an encampment against an army, him that passeth through and him that returneth, and no oppression shall come over them any more, for now I see with mine eyes.*"

The meaning of the promise is not exhausted by the gracious protection, to be enjoyed by the covenant nation in the catastrophe immediately impending. The prophet sees in this rather the commencement and pledge of a more extensive salvation. This remark diminishes the apparent abruptness in the transition to the Messianic prophecy in ver. 9. *The house of the Lord*, in the opinion of many, is intended to represent his people *(over them)*. But the people are never called "the house of God" in this manner, without further explanation. The expression refers to the temple in this case, as in every other. But the temple is regarded as the spiritual dwelling place of all Israel (compare chap. iii. 7, vii. 2); and, therefore, the house of the Lord includes the people of the Lord. צְבָאָה is simply a different method of writing צָבָא, *army*. מֵעֹבֵר and מִשָּׁב are regarded

by many as relating especially to the expeditions of different nations, bent on the conquest of other states, particularly of the neighbouring land of Egypt, which had formerly been the occasion of great sufferings to the Israelites. But a comparison of Ezek. xxxv. 7 and Zech. vii. 14 will show, that the phrase admits of a much wider application, and refers to intercourse in general. The more immediate reference may be gathered in the present instance from what precedes, *against an army;* literally from the army, *i.e.*, so that there shall no more be an army; compare מִן in chap. vii. 14. "Therefore, although the whole world conspires, and hostile forces gather in great numbers from every quarter, he exhorts them to be of a calm mind, and still hope on, for one God is able to scatter every army." *(Calvin.)*—The words, "*and there shall no more come an oppressor over them,*" show that at that time they were suffering from an *oppression* (the Persian supremacy), as they had formerly done in Egypt (Ex. iii. 7).—עַתָּה, now, refers not to the time, when the prophecy was delivered, so much as to the period of fulfilment, when the Lord would encamp around his house. This may be explained from the general character of prophecy, in which the future is regarded as present; so that where definite announcements are made, it is not the actual, but the ideal present, which is intended. In the estimation of timid, despairing men, men of little faith, God only *sees*, when in his providence he actively interferes. And such is the condescension of the word of God, that it accommodates itself to this idea. An important illustration of this may be found in Jer. vii. 11: "is this house, then, on which my name is called, become a den of criminals in your eyes? Behold, I also see, saith the Lord," *sc.* "your evil doings, to fix their proper punishment," *(Michaelis)*. The declaration "*I see*" was verified by the result. And the Lord not only sees, when anything unseemly is done *in* his house, but also when it is done *to* his house.

Ver. 9. "*Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion, rejoice, daughter of Jerusalem. Behold, thy king will come to thee, just and protected is he, distressed, and riding upon an ass, and upon a young ass, the she-asses' foal.*"

The opening summons to shout with joy indicates the import-

ance of the subject, and also the greatness of the want, which this act of divine mercy is designed to satisfy. *Cocceius* justly observes that the summons itself contains a prophecy. The prophet has in his mind only the better portion of the covenant nation, the true members of the people of God, not all Israel according to the flesh. He therefore gives prominence simply to the joy and salvation, which are to follow the arrival of the Messiah. The peculiar cause of rejoicing is undoubtedly that deliverance from the power of the oppressor (ver. 8), which can only be truly and permanently enjoyed in Christ (Ver. 10).—The evangelists have given a literal version of this summons to rejoice. Matthew has substituted, from Is. lxii. 11, "say ye to the daughter of Zion," and thus, in a most expressive manner, has pointed out the intimate connexion between the two passages: "Say ye to the daughter of Zion, behold, thy salvation cometh, behold, his reward is with him, and his recompense before him." —הִנֵּה shows that the prophet has his eyes fixed upon the coming king, and sees him about to make his entry into Jerusalem. "The enthusiasm of the seer, which has been continually increasing (ver. 7 and 8), reaches its climax here; and transports him to the very moment, in which the new epoch (ver. 10) is about to commence." *(Hitzig.)* "*Thy* king," with peculiar emphasis; he who alone is thy king, in the full and highest sense of the word, and in comparison with whom no other deserves the name; (compare Ps. xlv. 72). The expression also shows, that the prophet is speaking of a king, who is universally known from previous prophecies, and is looked for with longing expectation.—לָךְ, not only "*to thee*," but *for thy good, for thy salvation*, compare Is. ix. 5, "unto *us* a child is born, unto *us* a son is given." The prophet merely lays stress upon the blessings, which the Messiah is to bestow upon the believing portion of the *covenant-nation*, since it is for them that his prophecy is peculiarly and immediately intended. But it is evident from ver. 7 and 10 that the heathen nations, who are to be received into the kingdom of God, will participate in their blessings.—יָבֹא (he will come) does not refer to the coming of the Messiah in his glory and to judgment, as in Mal. iii. 1, but to his first appearance in his humiliation, as the epithets, which follow, clearly show.—צַדִּיק, *just*, indi-

cates the leading virtue required in a king; and therefore particular stress is laid upon this in those prophecies, in which the Messiah is represented as a king, *e.g.* Ps. xlv. 72; Jer. xxiii. 5; Is. xi. 3—5. The passage in Isaiah (chap. liii. 11), in which the righteousness of the Messiah, as a High Priest, and also as a sacrifice for sins, is spoken of ("he, the righteous one, my servant, will make many righteous"), cannot be compared with this, as it has been by many commentators.—The word נוֹשָׁע has from time immemorial afforded considerable occupation to the expositors. (1). It has been very commonly supposed that the Niphal participle is used directly for the Hiphil מוֹשִׁיעַ. (The Kal of יָשַׁע is nowhere met with). In the *Septuagint* it is rendered *σώζων*; by *Jerome: salvator*; by *Jonathan*, פָּרִיק, *servator*. The *Syriac* and *Luther* translate it "*helper*;" and *Winer*, "*conqueror*." This explanation is certainly untenable. The assertion, made by many who support it, that Niphal is used unreservedly for Kal, there is no necessity for refuting now. There is only one point of view, from which the rendering can be defended with the least degree of plausibility. The passive signification of the Niphal frequently passes into the reflective, which may be explained on the supposition that the attention is fixed upon the effect alone, and not upon the person producing it. According to this, we might take נוֹשָׁע in the sense of "saving himself." And this is actually the rendering adopted by *Bauer* (scholia): *servans se ipsum, h.e. servator*. But the reflective signification is by no means admissible in the case of every verb. יָשַׁע occurs no less than twenty times in the Niphal, and always in a passive sense, never as a reflective. Even the participle is found in the former signification in Ps. xxxiii. 16. Now the prophet had no occasion whatever to employ the Niphal participle in an unusual sense; for, if this had been the meaning he wished to express, there was the word מוֹשִׁיעַ, which is found in more than thirty passages. The authority of the ancient translators has certainly not the least weight, in the face of such reasons as these. Their rendering rested on the same foundation as the assertion of so many of the modern commentators, that נושע must be taken in an active

sense. Compare, for example, *Frischmuth* on this passage (in the *thesaurus* (*ant.*) *theol. philol.* vol. i), "it is very evident that it would occasion much greater joy, if the king was represented as a Saviour, than if it was intimated that he would himself be saved." This rendering would hardly have been thought of at all, certainly would not have been defended so obstinately, had it not been for the idea, that the choice lay simply between this explanation and the following one, the difficulties connected with which were clearly seen.—(2). Many other expositors have correctly taken נוֹשָׁע as a passive, in the sense of "*saved.*" Among the Jews, *Kimchi*, for example, expounds it thus, "in his righteousness he is saved from the sword of Gog and Magog." Christian commentators, for the most part, understand it as referring to the deliverance of the Messiah from the greatest sufferings by his resurrection and glorification.[1] There is no force in the objection brought by *Marck* against this rendering, namely, that it does not express with sufficient clearness the mission of the Messiah to save and comfort his people, an announcement of which would certainly be expected here. For personal deliverance does not always involve the capacity to deliver others. It might extend no further than the king himself. But *Calvin* has already anticipated this objection in a satisfactory manner: "both words depend upon the announcement that the king will come to Zion. If he simply came on his own private account, he would also be just and delivered for his own sake, that is, the advantage of his justice and his safety would remain with himself alone, would be restricted to his own person. But since his coming had respect to others, it was for their sake also that he was both just and saved." There is another objection, however, which is not so easily set aside. According to this view, נוֹשָׁע would simply refer to the ultimate glorification. But this is out

[1] The best exposition, from this point of view, is that of *Glass* (phil. s. l. i. tr. i.): "The sufferings and humility, which characterised the Saviour at that time, might interfere with this rejoicing. The prophet, therefore, to prevent this from being a stumbling-block, uses the passive נוֹשָׁע. The meaning is: the king comes just, humble, and poor. But do not lose heart on that account. Do not stumble at the outward appearance. For behold he has been saved, that is, after this suffering and death he will as certainly be exalted from this state of poverty and misery to the highest celestial glory, as if he were already saved and glorified."

of place; for the epithets, which follow, relate to the state of humiliation.—3. There are others, who also regard the verb as a passive; though not in the sense of saved, but of "*supported, endued with salvation.*" The grammatical correctness of this rendering is beyond dispute. There are other passages, in which the Niphal is used in the sense of being sustained with help, blessed with salvation. Thus in Deut. xxxiii. 29 we read, "blessed art thou, O Israel, who is like unto thee? A people (נוֹשַׁע) clothed with salvation by the Lord ('by the Lord' must also be understood in the passage before us), thy helping shield, thy proud sword" (compare Ps. xxxiii. 16). It is well known that הוֹשִׁיעַ is frequently used to denote the assistance of God in general, and is not limited to one single deliverance. The difference between הוֹשִׁיעַ and הציל was originally this, that the positive element predominated just as much in the former, as the negative in the latter (*vide Hupfeld* on Ps. vii. 2).—The meaning is a most appropriate one. It serves especially to throw light upon the reason for צַדִּיק being associated with נוֹשַׁע. The two words are as intimately connected as the other two predicates which follow. Just as righteousness and the bestowment of salvation are attributed to the invisible head of the nation of God, as the sum and substance of the attributes with which he blesses his people (Is. xlv. 21, "a just God, and a Saviour"), so was it the highest glory of his visible representative to be inwardly clothed with righteousness (*cf.* Ps. lxxii. 1), and outwardly with salvation, which flows from him to his subjects. In both respects what the Messiah was to be in the fullest sense, the best of all the kings before him had only been to a very limited extent. Thus even according to this rendering, the meaning, which the supporters of No. 2 declare to be the only possible one, is clearly implied in the word. The deliverance of the Messiah from death and his exaltation to glory constitute but one single result; they were a necessary consequence of the divine assistance, which he received, and which followed him even in his state of deepest humiliation. There is a parallel expression in Is. liii. 2, where the Messiah is spoken of as growing up *before the Lord*, that is, under his protection and favour (see the remarks on the passage). But Jer. xxiii. 6 should be especially

noticed, "in his (the Messiah's) days Judah will be endued with salvation." The substance of these passages is comprehended here in a single word. Considering the extent to which Zechariah rests upon earlier prophets, it is not improbable, that he had these passages and also Is. xlv. 21 in his mind at the time. Between the expression used by Isaiah, "just and helping," and the one employed here, "just and helped," there is the closest agreement.

Whilst the first two predicates point out what the great king of the future will possess in common with the best of his predecessors, the only difference being that he will have it in its fullest perfection, the last two point out the characteristics by which he will be distinguished from all the rest. עָנִי is regarded by many as equivalent to עָנָו, *meek*. Thus the *Septuagint* renders it πραΰς or πρᾷος; *Jonathan* ענותן; the *Syriac* humilis. *Kimchi*, who cites Is. xlii. 2, and most of the other Jewish expositors, adopt the same rendering. The only exceptions are such as *R. Moses Hakkohen* and *Abenezra*, who do not suppose the prophecy to refer to the Messiah, for the simple reason that in their opinion the idea of lowliness contained in עָנִי is inapplicable to him. This fact is so far of importance, that it indicates the reason why the rendering in question has been resorted to. Of the earlier Christian commentators it has been adopted by *Frischmuth*, and more recently by the whole body of rationalistic expositors. There can be no doubt, however, that this explanation is perfectly unfounded. Of all the numerous passages, in which עני occurs, there is not one instance in which it can be maintained with the least plausibility, that it is used in the sense of עָנָו. It is true that the Masoretes have marked two passages as having עָנָו for עָנִי, and two as containing עָנִי for עָנָו. But a closer examination of these passages will show at once, that there is no foundation for such an assertion. In Num. xii. 3 *Luther* has taken עָנָו as equivalent to עָנִי, and rendered it *afflicted*. But this rendering is now generally regarded as incorrect, and probably originated in the endeavour to save Moses himself from the appearance of vain-glory. We have the better excuse for not entering into any lengthened demonstra-

tion, since both *Gesenius* and *Winer* have simply adduced the passage before us in proof of the two being interchangeable, and thus tacitly acknowledge that not a single example can be brought forward in support of the assertion. No doubt the idea of distress is associated in the Old Testament with the subordinate notion of righteousness, and still more with that of meekness and humility, because they alone are described as distressed, who really take their sufferings to heart, those who bear their cross, and therefore cannot be anything else than righteous and meek. But the leading idea is not lost sight of. No rich and powerful man, no man in full possession of glory and prosperity, is ever called עָנִי, and yet this is just what we should have to assume in the passage before us.[1] This being the case, then, the rendering itself being so utterly destitute of any foundation, and, as we shall presently see, even the parallelism being against it, it certainly appears as if nothing but the influence of inclination could have given rise to it at first, and kept it in existence for so long a time. The few Christian commentators, who have adopted it, would not have done so, if they had not been led astray by their mistaken predecessors. We must not reckon *Chrysostom* and others like him who had merely the *Septuagint*

[1] *Hulsius* (theol. Jud., p. 163) has admirably observed: "we do indeed admit, that as the two words are very closely related in Hebrew, so the qualities of poverty and humility are also connected by the bond of necessity, and meet together in the same individual. Hence, in the *Septuagint* עָנִי is rendered πραῢς or πραΰς, if not quite correctly perhaps, yet by no means absurdly." This also serves to explain the retention of the *Septuagint* rendering by Matthew. According to the Old Testament idea, meekness and humility go hand in hand with wretchedness. No עָנִי who is not also עָנָו, and *vice versa*. Matthew could the more readily adhere to the generally received version, since the evident fact furnished a commentary on the πραΰς, showing that in prophecy lowliness must lie hidden under gentleness. It was chiefly the former which was exhibited in Christ's entry into Jerusalem. "At the same time," continues *Hulsius*, "we cannot allow that the two meanings may be so confounded that עָנִי, which properly means poor, may in this case simply denote a humble man, even to the exclusion of every kind of poverty, nor is such a rendering compatible with the nature of the word עָנִי itself, which is not applied to a man who is humble by *merit* (עָנָו would be the right word in this case), but to one who is humble in his *circumstances*; in other words, a poor, oppressed man, belonging to the lowest rank."

before them, and did not look at the Hebrew text at all. The argument employed by *Frischmuth*, that "meekness, not poverty, is the cause of joy," may be met by the observation, that it was not requisite that every single predicate should contain a direct incentive to joy. It was sufficient that the announcement, as a whole, should open up an abundant source of happiness. The lowliness of the Messiah could not disturb it, for, like Isaiah in chap. liii., the prophet represents his kingdom as spreading in spite of this over the whole earth, and has already taken away all cause of offence by the previous word. Nor is it true, in fact, that the distress of Christ is not a cause of joy. Our *Weihnachtslieder* teach the very opposite of this:—

> "Er ist auf Erden Kommen arm
> Dass er unser sich erbarm."
> "Du kommst ins Elend her zu mir
> Wie soll ich immer danken dir."

It is also opposed to that prophecy of the Old Testament (Is. liii), of which our word עני may be regarded as a compendium, and in which the distress of the servant of God is held up, as the indispensable condition of his representative character, and the latter as the foundation of our salvation. It must not be forgotten, that in the case of Christ his distress can only be conceived of as something undertaken voluntarily and for the good of the Church. We shall see, presently, *to what extent* both the Jewish and rationalistic commentators were influenced by doctrinal prejudices. Even the rendering "*poor*," which *Jerome*, *Symmachus*, and many others have adopted, is not quite correct. עָנִי is not the same as אביון; it embraces the whole of the lowly, sorrowing, suffering condition so fully depicted in the 53d chapter of Isaiah.—The second term, "riding on an ass," is supposed by many commentators to indicate a humble monarch, *fond of peace*. Thus *Chrysostom* says in his commentary on Matthew, *οὐχὶ ἅρματα ἐλαύνων ὡς οἱ λοιποὶ βασιλεῖς, οὐ φόρους ἀπαιτῶν οὐ σοβῶν καὶ δορυφόρους περιάγων, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν τὴν ἐπιείκειαν κἀντεῦθεν ἐπιδεικνύμενος*; but he was probably misled by the *Septuagint* rendering of עָנִי, which compelled him in this case also to look for something answering to *πραΰς*. *Kimchi* gives a similar explanation, "not from want, for the whole world

will be subjected to him, but from meekness, he will sit upon an ass." In fact all the Jewish commentators, who regard the passage as Messianic, explain it in the same way. *Grotius* also says, "this not only indicated his modesty, but also his love of peace; for horses are prepared for war; the ass is an animal of peace." And all the rationalistic commentators, without exception, expound the passage in the same manner. In support of this, we are reminded that the ass is a very different animal in the East from what it is with us, that in the Scriptures some of the most distinguished men are represented as riding upon asses, and that, according to the testimony of travellers, they are ridden by such persons to the present day. But the following reasons suffice to show that this explanation is untenable, and that the fact of his riding upon an ass is intended rather as a sign of the lowly condition of the king.[1] (1). The connection with עָנִי is in itself a proof of this. *Marck* has very correctly observed, "the second outward characteristic of this king is a special act, resulting from the first, which is more general in its nature. If, then, עָנִי cannot be rendered *humble*, riding upon an ass cannot be one particular manifestation of humility and gentleness, but must rather be a sign of lowliness and inferiority. The *first* two epithets were also intimately connected, so as to form a pair.— (2). It is certainly quite true, that the ass in the East is a superior animal to ours, and therefore more highly valued than it is with us. Still it is nothing but an ass after all, and can never attain to the dignity of a horse. Those passages in the bible, in which distinguished persons are represented as riding upon asses, ought not to have been brought forward any more, since *J. D. Michaelis* has written his "*Geschichte der Pferde und Pferdezucht in Palästina*" (at the close of the Mosaisches Recht Part 3). During the period of the Judges, horses were not used at all among the Israelites; and, *therefore*, even distinguished men rode upon asses. It was not till a monarchical

[1] "It is as much to say, that the king, of whom he is speaking, would not be distinguished for the grandeur of his appearance, as earthly princes usually are, but, as it were, for his *mean*, or at any rate his common condition, as he would differ in no respect whatever from any plebeian or ignoble person." *Calvin.*

government was established that mules were used, and horses were introduced at a still later period. *After this, that is from the time of Solomon downwards, we do not meet with a single example of a king, or in fact of any very distinguished personage riding upon an ass.* But it is only examples from these later times that could come into consideration here. As regards the accounts of modern travellers, it must be borne in mind that they generally speak of the ass merely relatively, contrasting its condition in the East with that supreme contempt, with which he is regarded among ourselves. When they mention, that in the East even distinguished women are in the habit of employing them, this does not bear upon the passage before us at all. The reason of their doing so is not the noble character of the animal, as may be seen from the fact that even in this country they do the same, notwithstanding the contempt in which it is held. *Chardin* states that in some parts of the East superior officers, for example the lawyers in Persia, make use of asses when they go upon a journey, but this proves nothing more than that riding on an ass does not excite *ridicule* in the East as it does here. This may be explained from the fact that, when the ass in the East is well driven, it goes at a good speed, and is easier to ride than the horse, especially in mountainous districts, on account of its being so sure-footed, to say nothing of the ease and cheapness with which it can be kept. *But in all our accounts of the asses of the East, of which we have a great abundance, there is not a single example of an ass being ridden by a king;* nor is there even an instance of a distinguished officer mounting an ass on any state occasion, *whereas here* (and this is a most important point) *it is in his royal capacity that the king is said to ride upon an ass.* And there are not wanting proofs, that even in the East the ass shares to some extent in the contempt, which falls to the lot of his more unfortunate brother in the West. In the name אִתָּן, from a noun denoting *laziness* (see *Gesenius* thesaurus, s.v.), this contempt is expressed. And in Gen. xlix. 13 we have an illustration from the very earliest times. Issachar is there called an ass, and, as the context shows, the point of comparison is not merely the strength of its bones, but its laziness, which is so great that nothing disturbs its equanimity, and it will submit to any load that may be placed upon its back.

The honour of the ass is still more pointedly attacked by Jesus the son of Sirach (chap. xxx. 24, xxxiii. 24): "fodder, a wand, and burdens are for the ass." Mohammed says: "Of all voices that of the ass is the most disgusting, it is the voice of the very devil" *(vide Herbelot, bibl. Or. s.v. Hemor).* The ancient Egyptians affirmed that Typhon the evil deity was like an ass, and that this animal was his special favourite *(Jablonsky, pantheon Aeg.* iii. 45). It is a well known fact, that in Egypt both Jews and Christians are restricted to the use of asses, as a mark of inferiority, the horse being reserved for Mahometans. We may see how exaggerated the prevalent notion respecting the dignity of the ass in the East must be, from the sneer, with which king Sapor speaks of the idea of the Jews' Messiah riding upon an ass: "King Sapor said to Rabbi Samuel, you say that the Messiah will come on an ass; I will send him my splendid horse"[1] *(vide Sanhedrin* xi. fol. 38).—But if any doubt still remains as to the meaning of this announcement, it must certainly disappear when we look at the fulfilment. It is difficult to imagine a poorer display, than the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem. Into the same city, which David and Solomon had so frequently entered on mules or horses richly caparisoned, and with a company of proud horsemen as their attendants, the Lord rode on a borrowed ass, which had never been broken in, the wretched clothing of his disciples supplying the place of a saddle-cloth, and his attendants consisting of people, whom the world would regard as a mob and rabble. In every feature connected with this symbolical action the Lord's intention, to represent his kingdom as poor and humble, and entirely destitute of worldly splendour, is most conspicuous; and *Heumann* has correctly observed (on John xii. 15): "this act of the Lord's may be regarded as an *ironia realis*, the design of which was to ridicule the erroneous ideas entertained by the Jews, with reference to the kingdom of the Messiah.—(3). The expression "riding upon an ass" is explained in ver. 10. We find an announcement there to the effect that, before the coming of the Messiah, the Lord will cut off from Israel the chariot and the horse; in

[1] There is also force in *Marck's* observation: "There is a great difference between a good ass, trained for riding, richly caparisoned and decked out with valuable ornaments, and a common animal not yet broken in," &c.

other words, bring it down to the lowest depth of humiliation. This is symbolically represented in its king. As the chariot and the horse are mentioned in ver. 6 simply as the marks of Israel's pride; the ass, which is introduced by way of contrast, can only be intended as a symbol of humiliation.

There is a gradation in the two clauses, "*he rides upon an ass*," and "*upon a young ass, a foal of the she-asses*." It was a striking mark of humiliation for a king to ride upon an ass; but a much more striking proof, for him to ride upon a young one, which had never been broken in. עַיִר by itself signifies a *young* ass. But, as it was on the youth of the animal that the prophet particularly intended to lay stress, on the fact that it was the *foal* of an ass, he adds בֶּן־אֲתֹנוֹת. The plural אֲתֹנוֹת has given rise to some very remarkable expositions. The simple explanation is, that an indefinite expression was often employed, where there was no necessity to speak more particularly. Thus, for example, in Gen. xxi. 7, "who would have said to Abraham, that Sarah should give children suck." Sarah had only *one* son, but the point in question was not the *number*, but the *fact*, and this was most strongly expressed by the plural. But we have a perfectly analogous example in the frequently recurring expression בֶּן־בָּקָר, *filius boum*, for *vitulus bovinus*. And again in כְּפִיר אֲרָיוֹת Judg. xiv. 5. In the passage before us the relation itself was the only point of importance, the other exponent was of little moment, and could therefore be expressed in a more general and indefinite manner. Again, a comparison of בן־בקר shows that בן־אתנות denotes an ass, which is still to a great extent dependent upon the mother. The youth of the ass is also carefully mentioned by the Evangelists, for the same reason as by the prophet, namely, to point out in a more emphatic manner the humiliation of the king. Thus John calls it *ὀνάριον*, "a young ass;" Mark (xi. 2) "a colt, whereon never man sat;" and Luke (xix. 30) "a colt, whereon yet never man sat." That there must be a reason for this emphasis has been admitted by commentators from time immemorial; but for the most part they have not been very happy in their explanations.[1]

[1] *Justin* and many of the later fathers, whom, strange to say, *Paulus* was not disinclined to follow, regarded the mother as a type of the Jewish nation,

According to the general opinion of both ancient and modern commentators, the same ass is referred to in both clauses. Such an opinion would never have been entertained, had it not been that the expositors started with the assumption, that the passage before us related directly and exclusively to the one fact of Christ's public entry into Jerusalem, and, then, observing that three of the Evangelists mention only one ass, were afraid that there might be a discrepancy between the prophecy and its fulfilment. But such an assumption is evidently erroneous. Riding on an ass is mentioned principally as an individual example of the lowliness referred to just before. And even if it were the fact, that we have here simply two parallel clauses identical in their meaning, it would be wrong to suppose that the same ass is referred to in both. In Gen. xlix. 11, where it is said of Judah: "he binds his ass to the vine, the colt of his she-ass to choice vines, he washed his garment in wine, and his clothes in the blood of grapes," who would think of maintaining that the "ass" and the "colt of the she-ass" are the same animal, the "vine" and the "choice vine" the same plants, the "blood of the grapes" and the "wine" the same portion of wine, or the "garment" and the "clothes" the same article of clothing? This explanation, too, is the more untenable, because, as we have already shown, there is a gradation in the two clauses, the prophet first of all illustrating the lowliness of the Messiah by the general fact that he would ride upon an ass, and then by the more particular announcement that it would be a young animal not yet broken in. We may also add that the repetition of עַיִר is irreconcileable with the assumption referred to. Moreover it can hardly be denied that the Lord himself furnishes a confirmation of our opinion, in the method adopted by him in the symbolical transaction itself; which was intended to incorpo-

and the ass, which had never been broken in, as a symbol of the Gentiles. *Bengel*, who follow *Bochart* and others, says much more plausibly, "whatever serves Christ, ought to be free from the pollutions of sinful bodies." But apart from the fact that this does not apply to the present case, in which everything points to the outward humiliation of the king, there is another reason for rejecting the explanation, namely, that the passage in Zechariah is entirely overlooked, although the Lord so evidently had it in his mind throughout the whole transaction. The context is entirely disregarded by *Maurer*, who says, "perhaps the use of a foal is attributed to the Messiah, on account of its being a perfectly sound animal *(animal intactum)*."

rate, as it were, the figurative description given by Zechariah. This is the only ground on which we can explain the reason for his commanding, as Matthew says he did, that not only the young ass should be brought, but the mother also. He could not mount more than one of the animals. For it would have been very unseemly, as *Bochart* observes (*Hieroz.* 2, 17), when the distance was so short, to mount first one and then the other. He selected the young ass, because Zechariah had mentioned this as a symbol of the deepest humiliation. But the ass had to follow, in order that the imagery of Zechariah might be fully represented, and that there might be an outward manifestation of the gradation which he had introduced into his description. That the mother formed an indispensable part of the symbolical transaction, and was not brought merely to answer a subordinate purpose, such as to make the colt more tractable, as most commentators suppose, is evident from Matthew's words (ver. 7): "they brought the she-ass and the colt, and put on them (ἐπάνω αὐτῶν) their clothes, and they set him upon them (ἐπάνω αὐτῶν)." Even if we suppose the second αὐτῶν to refer to the clothes, as *Theophylact* does ("not upon the two beasts, but upon their clothes"),—an exposition which can hardly have arisen from anything but embarrassment,—the first is inexplicable except on our hypothesis. The solution sometimes suggested, that the plural stands for the singular, can hardly be sustained. The plural is only used for the singular in cases in which nothing depends upon the precise subject being more particularly indicated; and examples of this construction may be found even in the New Testament. But here it was of the greatest importance, that, if the Evangelist intended to say that the Lord merely rode upon the colt, he should use a definite expression. The use of the plural can only have been intended to indicate that both animals were set apart to the service of the Lord, and that the fact of the one being covered with garments and mounted implied, as it were, that the other was the same. Nothing can be inferred from the silence of the other Evangelists with regard to the she-ass. John's account is very brief throughout, and the subordinate circumstances are all omitted. He takes for granted that the particulars are well known, and merely adds that it was not till after Jesus was glorified that the

disciples understood that there was an allusion in the symbolical transaction to the Old Testament prophecy. Mark and Luke say nothing whatever about the prophecy, on which Matthew, in harmony with the general design and uniform character of his gospel, lays such particular stress. This being the case, any reference to the she-ass would have been out of place; for the reason of her being taken was unintelligible, apart from the allusion to the prophecy. On the other hand it was of the greatest importance for them to give prominence to the remarkable circumstances with which the event was attended.

Ver. 10. "*And I exterminate chariots from Ephraim and horses from Jerusalem, and the battle-bow is exterminated, and He speaks peace to the nations, and his dominion passes from sea to sea, from the Euphrates to the ends of the earth.*"

The meaning of the words, "and I exterminate . . battle-bow," is apparent from the original passage, on which this is founded, viz. Micah v. 9, 10 (see vol. i. p. 517). According to this passage, the idea expressed in the words is that the world-wide dominion of the people of God, which was to be established by Christ, would be preceded by a judicial process on the part of God, that he would take away from His people everything on which they had placed a carnal reliance, that is, all their outward defences. The truth announced in ver. 6 with reference to the Philistines as the representatives of the Gentile world, that the way into the kingdom of God would be through great tribulation, is represented here as applying to the covenant-nation also. The word הִכְרַתִּי, which is common to the two passages, serves as an index to the connexion between them. Instead of "the *pride of* the Philistines," we have here "*the chariots and horses*," which are alluded to, therefore, as being the objects of Israel's pride. The passage has been correctly interpreted by *Theodoret*,[1] *Eusebius*,[2] and others, who regard it as containing an announcement of the political extinction of the covenant-nation by the Romans. On the other hand, it is falsely

[1] ἐξωλόθρευσεν ἅρματα ἐξ Ἐφραὶμ καὶ ἵππον ἐξ Ἱερουσαλὴμ, τὴν θρασύτητα αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μανικὴν καταλύσας βασιλείαν.

[2] ταῦτα γὰρ περὶ τῆς καθαιρεσέως τῆς βασιλικῆς ἀξίας τοῦ Ἰουδαίων ἐθνους ἐθεσπίζετο.

interpreted by those who follow the *Chaldee* and *Septuagint*[1] versions, and understand it as referring to hostile chariots and horsemen. The same may be said of those who compare Is. ii. 4, and suppose that the purport of the passage is to point out the utter worthlessness of every outward defence. The reference is not to the chariots and weapons of the heathen world, but to those of the covenant-nation (from Ephraim, from Jerusalem); and to a *forcible* removal *(I cut off)*, not to the laying aside of that which has ceased to be useful. No one can remain long in doubt, if he will only examine, *first*, the original passage on which this is based; *secondly*, the word הכרתי; and, *thirdly*, the connexion between this passage and the sixth verse.

That no argument can be founded upon the juxtaposition of Judah and Ephraim, against the genuineness of the second part, has already been shown in the *Dissertations on Daniel and Zechariah* (p. 306). At first sight, however, the fact that chariots and horses are spoken of here, as things to be destroyed at a future time, appears irreconcileable with the age in which Zechariah lived, since it apparently presupposes that the covenant-nation was politically independent and capable of self-defence at the time when the prophecy was delivered. The answer is simply this, the prophet foresees, according to ver. 13 sqq., that at some future period Israel will once more be independent and able to defend itself. But the acquisitions of the future must be swept away again before salvation can appear. The prophecy is similar to that of Daniel in chap. ix., where we find him predicting a future destruction of the temple, although it was lying in ruins at the time. The subject to וְדִבֶּר (and he speaks) is the king. What worldly kings can only accomplish by the force of arms, He effects by a simple word. The only other passage, in which דִּבֶּר שָׁלוֹם לְ occurs, is Esther x. 3, where it refers, according to the correct interpretation, to the settlement of disputes. In *Hitzig's* opinion the peace of the "ideal theocratical king" was to be *enjoined* upon the heathen and forced upon them. But this explanation, which may be traced to rationalistic prejudices, is opposed not only to the parallel pas-

[1] ἐξολυθρευθήσεται τόξον πολεμικὸν καὶ πλῆθος καὶ εἰρήνη ἐξ ἐθνῶν.

sage, but also to Psalm lxxii. on which this prediction is based. The absolute righteousness of the king is there described as leading the nations to render him voluntary homage. Moreover, the context shows that *compulsion* cannot be intended here. The Messiah himself comes "*lowly* and riding on an ass," and before his coming the covenant people are deprived of their weapons, both offensive and defensive. Whence, then, is he to obtain this external power? His kingdom must be one that is not of this world. The fact that the Messiah speaks *peace* is primarily for the advantage of Zion, which was summoned to rejoice at the very outset. Until his coming it suffered greatly from the war-like spirit of the heathen (see the remarks on the parallel passage in Micah v. 5, "and this man shall be peace").

But it does not end with peace. In Christ, Zion is exalted to the government of the world. This is intimated in the latter part of the verse, "*and his dominion passes from sea to sea, from Euphrates to the ends of the earth.*" Many erroneous views have been entertained respecting this clause. *Eichhorn*, who adopts Abenezra's views, says: "he will rule from one sea to the other, from the (great) river to the end of the land. Jehovah gives to the kingdom of Israel its widest bounds, from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean, from the Euphrates to the deserts of Arabia." Most of the other rationalists, and of those who are inclined that way, have given the same explanation, for reasons which may easily be conjectured. But the following proofs may be adduced that this interpretation is not correct. (1). אַפְסֵי־אָרֶץ is never applied to the boundaries of the Jewish kingdom, but always denotes the uttermost parts of the entire earth. (2). As the terminal point mentioned in the second clause is the farthest that can possibly be imagined, the one given in the first clause cannot be within the limits of Palestine. On the contrary, the second sea must be the most remote of all the seas. (3). As the whole sentence occurs in Ps. lxxii. 8, and Zechariah must therefore have had this passage in his mind, it may justly be made use of in our attempts to expound the passage before us. But in the Psalm we find from the verses which follow, that, not Palestine alone, but the whole earth, with all its tribes and countries, is to serve the king. The kings of Tarshish and the isles, of Sheba and Seba, are numbered among his subjects, and in ver. 11 it is announced that *all* kings shall fall

down before him, *all* nations shall serve him. (4). The explanation sometimes given to מִיָּם עַד יָם, from the Dead Sea, or from the Red Sea, to the Mediterranean, is inadmissible on grammatical grounds. The article is no doubt frequently omitted in poetical composition, even when a definite object is referred to. But this is only done, when the object is sufficiently obvious of itself. The word נָהָר, in the passage before us, is a case in point. This cannot possibly mean any stream whatever, but every one sees at once that it must refer to the Euphrates, which was called הַנָּהָר, *the* river, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. This appellative noun was sometimes treated in poetry as a proper name, and only on this ground could the article be omitted (see Jer. ii. 18; Is. vii. 20; Micah vii. 12). And if the first יָם is to be understood as applying to one particular sea, it must also refer to one, which was commonly spoken of as "*the* sea" *κατ' ἐξοχήν*. Now this was neither the Red Sea, nor the Dead Sea, which are never referred to in this general manner, but the Mediterranean alone, which is frequently called "the great sea," and sometimes simply "the sea." But in the passage before us, יָם without the article cannot even mean the Mediterranean. The second יָם is indefinite, and therefore the first must be the same, otherwise it ought at least to be written with the article. This is confirmed by Micah vii. 12 and Amos viii. 12. We must render it therefore, "from every sea to every sea." If the "*sea*," however, is to be taken indefinitely, we are hardly at liberty to understand the "*river*" (without the article) as referring distinctly to the Euphrates. (In Micah vii. 12, where the sea is mentioned indefinitely, whilst the river is the *Euphrates*, the latter is more particularly defined in the context). Apparently there is merely a general allusion to the passages in Genesis, in which the boundaries of Canaan are given, and where the Mediterranean and Euphrates are expressly named, especially to Ex. xxiii. 31. The land, which Moses assigned to the children of Israel, simply extended from the sea to the river, but the dominion of this king will stretch from every sea to every sea, and from every river to the ends of the earth: it is a kingdom of unlimited extent. We can easily understand, why the prophet should have intentionally omitted the more definite terms, which occur in the original passage, "and I will set thy bounds from the

Red Sea even unto the Sea of the *Philistines*, and from the desert unto *the* river," and should have retained the most general expression.[1]

The *history of the exposition* of vers. 9 and 10 is peculiarly interesting. The nature of the prophecy itself would lead us to expect this at the very outset. The more directly it is opposed to the views entertained by both Jews and rationalists respecting the Messiah, when we interpret it correctly, the more clearly do the prejudices of the opponents of revelation manifest themselves when we trace the history of its interpretation.

Among the Jews, so far as we are able to trace the history of their opinions, the Messianic interpretation prevailed. This is attested by the numerous passages quoted by *Bochart* (Hieroz. p. 214), *Lightfoot*, *Schöttgen*, *Wetstein* (on Matt., chap. xxi.) and others, from the Talmud and other ancient Jewish works. The unfounded suspicion, expressed by *Paulus* (commentary on the New Testament iii., p. 113), that this interpretation first originated after the time of Christ, is refuted by the fact, that it is precisely in connexion with a passage, which was so directly opposed to the Jewish ideas respecting the Messiah, and which placed such powerful weapons in the hands of their Christian opponents, that the general prevalence of the Messianic interpretation, even after the coming of Christ, affords the strongest proof, that it must have been sanctioned by traditions, that had been handed down from the very earliest times. And in addition to this, the close connexion between the entry of Christ into Jerusalem and the passage before us, leads at once to the conclusion that at that time it was understood as referring to the Messiah. *Theodoret*, it is true, asserts that the Jews of his day interpreted this prophecy, as referring

[1] The rendering adopted by *Hitzig* is even more arbitrary than that usually given by the rationalists, especially the earlier ones. He explains it thus: "from the Nile to the Euphrates, and from the Euphrates to the sea of the Philistines, the Mediterranean." The only passage, in which the word יְאֹר is applied to the Nile, is Nahum iii. 8, where the reference is sufficiently clear on account of the name having occurred immediately before. It is never used of the Euphrates. In Is. xviii. 2 "the sea" means the Mediterranean, which the messengers who brought the tidings of the mighty works of the God of Israel, had *first of all* to cross. In Is. xix. 5, xxvii. 1, and Jer. li. 36, the expression is used in a figurative sense. At all events, in the passage before us, where there is no farther information whatever, "the sea" cannot mean first the Nile and then the Euphrates.

to Zerubbabel. "I am amazed," he says, "at the blindness of the Jews, who venture in the most shameless manner to declare that it refers to Zerubbabel." But, as there is not the slightest trace of any such interpretation in the writings of the Jews themselves, and not one of the later Jewish anti-Messianic expositors has mentioned Zerubbabel, whilst from time immemorial the opinion prevailed, that the passage could not refer to him on account of the future יָבֹא, it is very likely that *Theodoret* had not actually found any historical record of this interpretation, but merely conjectured that it could be found, from the analogy of other prophecies.

The prophecy, when correctly interpreted in a Messianic sense, must, however, have been a very inconvenient one to the Jews. Taking the passage simply as it stands, altogether apart from the fulfilment, it was not so very easy to reconcile it with others, in which the glory of the Messiah is depicted, or even to reconcile the expression, "poor, and riding on an ass," with the other predicates in the very same passage. It is only by the history of the Redeemer himself, that the difficulty is completely removed. "His sacred person," as *Calmet* observes, "presents to us a spectacle of the greatest grandeur, divinity, magnificence, and strength, associated, without confusion or contradiction, with the greatest humility, gentleness, poverty, suffering, and weakness. It is only the Christian religion that could combine together extremes which appear so directly opposed to one another." That this difficulty was a stumbling-block to the Jews at a very early period, is evident from the following attempt at a solution, which we find in the Talmud (Sanhedrim, C. 11): "if the Israelites are worthy, the Messiah will come with the clouds of heaven (Dan. vii. 13); if they are not worthy he will come poor and riding upon an ass (Zech. ix. 9)." In this exposition not only is the Messianic interpretation retained, but the words are taken in their literal sense. There was little hope, however, of its meeting with general acceptance, so far as this particular difficulty was concerned. It would not yield satisfaction, even in appearance, unless the Messianic passages were so distinct in their character, that whilst some announced merely a lowly Messiah, the rest foretold a Messiah who would come in glory. But this is by no means the case, as the passage

before us sufficiently proves. The very same person, who is spoken of as poor and riding on an ass, is also represented as a king, on whom the favour of God will peculiarly rest, and who is to rule over the whole earth. The expedient adopted in other cases, in order to get rid of the difficulty caused by those passages in which a lowly Messiah is announced, was to distinguish between the Messiah the Son of Joseph and the Messiah the Son of David. But for the reason assigned, this expedient could not be resorted to here, although, according to *Abenezra*, there were some who applied it even to this passage.—There was another point, of even greater moment than this particular difficulty. The material character of the Messianic hopes entertained by the Jews, which grew stronger and stronger from their opposition to Christianity, rendered the idea of even a conditional announcement of a lowly Messiah, intolerable to the great majority. Under these circumstances their only alternative was either to give up the Messianic interpretation altogether, or to expound the passage in some other way, by which the difficulty might be avoided. It was but natural, that comparatively few should adopt the former method. The Messianic interpretation was supported by tradition, and was even sanctioned by the authority of the Talmud. Moreover, the righteousness and saving power of the king, referred to in ver. 9, and the whole of ver. 10, presented such glorious prospects, that there were many who could hardly constrain themselves to assign the fulfilment to a period already gone by. In addition to this, there was the difficulty of bringing the non-Messianic interpretation into harmony with the age in which Zechariah lived. So far as the prophets anterior to the captivity were concerned, it was possible, though not without doing violence to the words, to fix upon individuals, a Hezekiah for example, to whom such of the Messianic prophecies, as were felt to be inconvenient, might be referred. But when Zechariah prophesied, the second temple had been built, the kingdom had long been extinct, and among the rulers of the Jews in these later times there was not one, to whom the words of ver. 10 could with any plausibility be applied, even with the most forced interpretation, and assuming that the most grotesque hyperbole had been employed. There were at least two commentators, however, who ventured to brave

all these obstacles, which they felt to be at all events of less importance than the troublesome expression, "poor and riding upon an ass;" for whilst this not only threatened to overturn their entire system of theology, but clashed most fearfully with the feelings of their *hearts*, the non-Messianic interpretation merely did violence to their exegetical sensibilities. *Rabbi Mose Hakkohen*, as we are informed by *Abenezra*, referred the prophecy to Nehemiah, on the ground that he is called the king of Judah in Neh. vi. 6, 7, and that he was poor and rode upon an ass, on account of his having no horse to ride upon. *Abenezra* refutes him with the simple remark, that in the passage cited it is simply stated that the title of king was given to Nehemiah by his enemies in a calumnious spirit, whereas he never pretended to be anything more than a Persian officer; and on the other hand that his history proves him to have been possessed of great wealth.—But *Abenezra* himself has gone just as far astray. He refers the prophecy to Judas Maccabæus, who was at first neither a rich man, nor in possession of a horse. *Bochart* has taken the trouble to enter into an acute and learned reply to this exposition. But the best refutation is that of *Abarbanel:* "I am amazed, that a *bad intention* should so thoroughly have blinded the eyes of his mind."

But there were a far greater number who adhered to the Messianic interpretation, and endeavoured to explain away the difficulties and to cover over the supposed nakedness of the Messiah.[1] The latter was attempted in a most absurd manner, by those who maintained that the ass, on which the Messiah was to ride, was a foal of the she-ass, which was formed during the six days of Creation, and was the very same ass as that upon which Abraham rode when he was about to offer up Isaac, and Moses when he went down to Egypt. (See the *Jalkut Rubeni*, in *Schöttgen ut supra*, and other passages from the *Jalkut Schimeoni*, *the Pirke R. Eliezer* and *Jarchi* quoted by *Eisenmenger* ii., p. 697). *Rabbi Samuel* (in the Sanhedrin *ut supra*) wards off the ridicule of King Sapor by stating, that the ass of the

[1] *Athanasius* speaks of the heathen as saying in scorn, "the God of the Christians, who was called Christ, sat upon an ass;" and according to *Tertullian* the Romans called the Christians *asinarii*. Compare the ridicule of King Sapor already referred to.

Messiah will be of a hundred colours! The subject was handled much more ingeniously by those who followed the *Septuagint* and the Chaldean paraphrase, and interpreted עָנִי as meaning humility, and the riding on an ass as a symbol of the same. "He will come with humility, not proudly riding upon a horse," is the explanation given by *R. Saadias* (Haggaon on Dan. vii. 13). *Kimchi* and *Jarchi*, *Abarbanel* and others, adopt the same interpretation. *Jarchi* betrays his evil conscience, by the fact, that he dismisses the word עָנִי, as quickly as possible, with the hurried remark that it is a sign of humility.

In the Christian Church, as a matter of course, the opinion, that the prophecy refers to the historical Christ, generally prevailed until the rise of Deism and Rationalism. *Grotius* constituted the only exception, and his assertion that it was merely in a higher sense that the prophecy referred to Christ, whilst the literal and immediate reference was to Zerubbabel, excited universal displeasure, and called forth a host of replies, the first of which was written by *Bochart*, who left but scanty gleanings for his successors. The *mala intentio* was also manifest in the case of *Grotius*. His hesitation, which may be seen in the fact that in his notes on Matt. xxi. he expresses the opinion, that the passage may also relate to Judas Maccabæus or any other person, is a proof that his only object was to get rid, at any cost, of the reference to the Messiah, against which he could not bring forward a single argument. And this is still more evident from the violent means, of which, although a commentator of refined exegetical tact, he has not scrupled to make use, in order to sustain his point. He renders יָבֹא "he *is* come," and refers it to the return of Zerubbabel from Babylon, which had taken place long before the period of the prophecy. He maintains, in opposition to the testimony of history, that, although Zerubbabel was not nominally a king, he was really so, and very craftily refers to Jer. xxiii. 5 and Ezek. xxxvii. 22, 24, as passages in which he is also called king in the same sense as in the passage before us. But he does not intimate, that this is the case only according to his own false exposition, to which the same *mala intentio* has given rise. צַדִּיק is diluted, and explained to mean "*aequus*, *φιλόπατρις*, *non tyrannus*." The perversion of the expressions

"*poor*" and "*riding on an ass*" hardly needs to be mentioned, since it is not only self-evident, but was furnished ready to his hand by the Jewish commentators. With reference to the latter of the two expressions, *Bochart* observes: "his exposition is particularly cold, when he pretends that these words of the prophet, 'riding on an ass,' indicate the modesty of Zerubbabel and his wish for peace. For in this sense Solomon with all his horsemen might have been described as riding on his ass, since no king was more desirous of peace than he." But still more violence had to be done to his feelings as a commentator in the case of ver. 10. For it is hardly possible to imagine a greater contrast, than that which exists between the obscure Zerubbabel and the king mentioned in this verse. According to *Grotius*, however, the extermination of the war-chariots, &c., *out of* Ephraim, means that *hostility* of every kind is to be rendered harmless. The clause "he will speak peace to the heathen nations" is expounded thus, "the city of Jerusalem will make treaties with kings, with the Lacedaemonians, and the Romans." The history of Zerubbabel left him quite in the lurch here; but rather than give up his hypothesis, he saved himself at the cost of the grammar, and supplied the feminine "Jerusalem" as the subject of דִּבֶּר. He also refers the masculine suffix in מָשְׁלוֹ to the same feminine noun. But we may see how little he gained by all his great exertions, if we merely compare the clause, "from sea to sea, from the river to the ends of the earth," with his interpretation, "the dominion of Jerusalem, which embraced Samaria, Galilee, Gilead, and other provinces that had been separated from it ever since the time of Jeroboam I"

In the history of the interpretation of this prophecy by the rationalists, there are many points of resemblance to that by the Jews. They were equally unable to discern the reference to a poor and humble Messiah. This would have overthrown their entire system, the fundamental principle of which was the denial of any supernatural interference on the part of God. They consequently regarded the Messianic idea as a purely human invention. But the only way in which they could carry this out with any degree of plausibility, was by first of all getting rid of every

allusion to the humiliation, sufferings, and death of the Messiah. For the anticipation of a Messiah *in glory* is the only one which could be accounted for, by either the constitution of human nature, or the peculiar circumstances of the Jewish nation. No one pretended to trace the origin of the idea of a suffering Messiah. There was the greater reluctance to admit the existence of this idea in the Old Testament, from the fact that the passages in which it is found are much more strikingly in harmony with the historical personality of Christ, than those which depict a Messiah in glory. The fulfilment of the latter is to some extent yet to come, and what has already been fulfilled is for the most part hidden from the natural eye, and only discernible by the eye of faith. From their general point of view, therefore, they were *obliged* to take refuge in one of the alternatives, which had already been adopted by the Jews.

In the case of the rationalists, there were a greater number who tried to fix upon some other person as the subject of the prophecy, than in that of the Jews. *Bauer* led the way in his work on the Minor Prophets. He referred the prophecy to Simon Maccabaeus, who was unfortunately, however, not a king at all, and from first to last a warrior. But he afterwards saw how pointless his own exposition was, and (in the *Scholia)* adopted the "ideal Messianic" interpretation. *Paulus*, who fixed upon the time of the Maccabees as the date of its composition, though on doctrinal grounds alone, endeavoured in his notes on Matt. xxi. to twist the passage in the most violent manner, so as to make it refer to the warlike John Hyrcanus; an exposition which *Jahn* has taken the trouble to refute in the most complete and serious manner *(Vaticin. Mess.* i., p. 171 sqq.). Both of these commentators lived at a time, when rationalism could not see its way clearly, and, therefore, was afraid even of an ideal Messiah. At a later period the second escape from the difficulty was preferred. There were only two of the more modern expositors, who were unable to feel at home in the new method, and faithfully adhered to the old. According to *Forberg (comment. in Sach. part. post. part.* i. p. 24), the subject of the prophecy is King Uzziah, who defeated the Philistines. The *mala intentio* is very conspicuous here, in the fact that עָנִי is entirely omitted from the translation. *Theiner* makes Jehovah the sub-

ject. The thought, that Jehovah, who had gradually conquered all his enemies, and, if any other should arise, would conquer them as well, is said to be figuratively expressed by the prophet under the image of a triumphal entrance on the part of Jehovah into Jerusalem. The false interpretation of the expressions, "*poor*" and "riding upon an ass" reaches its climax here; and we should have no reward for our pains, if we proceeded still further to point out the arbitrary manner in which נוֹשָׁע has also been explained.

The number of those who understand the prophecy as referring to *an ideal Messiah* is very great, and includes *Ammon*, *Eichhorn*, *Gesenius*, *Winer*, *Hitzig*, *Maurer*, *Ewald*, and many others. The false interpretation of the two expressions עָנִי and "riding upon an ass" is common to them all. Most of them restrict the words "from sea to sea," &c., to the narrow limits of Palestine. Many of them again retain the erroneous rendering *deliverer* for נוֹשָׁע, assuming at the outset that, if this is not its meaning, it must necessarily mean *delivered*, which would presuppose some previous suffering, and this would not square with that idea of the Messiah of which they were the inventors.

We now proceed to show that the prophecy necessarily refers to the *historical* Christ.

1. The testimony of the New Testament, especially that of the Lord himself, is of peculiar importance. The earlier theologians, for the most part, regarded Christ's entry into Jerusalem upon an ass, as affording incontestable *internal* evidence that the prophecy related to him. Thus *Chrysostom* uses it triumphantly as an argument against the Jews: "Ask the Jew, what king came to Jerusalem riding upon an ass? and he will be unable to point to any other than this." But it could only be upon opponents, who were favourably disposed, that it could make any impression from this point of view. The English Deists (see *Biblioth. Britann.* i. p. 403 sqq.), and more recently *Ammon*, reply, that such an act as this proves nothing, for it is altogether arbitrary in its nature, and might have been performed by a false Messiah. Another reason may also be assigned. The weight attached to the fact of Christ's entering Jerusalem upon an ass, as an internal proof of the fulfilment of the prophecy, may be

traced to the idea that Zechariah speaks strictly and literally of such an entrance as this. But the idea itself is incorrect, as *Calvin* and *Vitringa* (commentary on Isaiah ii. p. 667) perceived, though they stood almost alone in this respect among the earlier commentators. The expression, "riding upon an ass," merely particularises the previous עָנִי, and exhibits in a striking figure the humiliation of the exalted king. *Vitringa* has justly observed, therefore, that the prophecy would have been fulfilled in Christ, even if he had not entered Jerusalem as he did. And hence the absence of this particular sign could not be adduced to disprove the reference of the prophecy to any other person, provided the substantial element in the imagery, extreme humiliation, could be shown to be associated in his person with the other distinguishing characteristics.

In another light, however, the entrance of Christ into Jerusalem is of great importance, as a proof of the Messianic character of this passage. *It takes the place of the most express declaration in words.* The entrance of Christ was a symbolical action, the design and purport of which were to assert his royal dignity, and to set forth in a living picture the true nature of his person and kingdom, in opposition to the false notions of both friends and foes. Apart, therefore, from the prophecy, the entry had its own peculiar meaning, as in fact was the case with every act of Christ and every event of his life, none of which were intended merely as fulfilments of prophecy, though this was undoubtedly one object in numerous instances. If this act of Christ had had no such meaning in itself, it would be difficult to explain how it is, that neither *Mark* nor *Luke* makes any express allusion to its connexion with the prophecy. But the fact that, of all the numerous symbols within his reach, Christ should have selected this particular one, and that, in the arrangement of the most minute details, he had still the prophecy before his mind, can only be explained on the supposition, that He, who so repeatedly and emphatically laid stress upon the prophecies of the Old Testament in the closing actions and events of his life, expressly intended to declare in this manner, that He was the king predicted by Zechariah. The objection that this declaration would have no weight, since it would be merely a testimony of himself, was met by the wonderful deeds which preceded this trans-

action, and the wonderful circumstances with which it was accompanied. It is scarcely necessary to enter at greater length into a discussion of the testimony, afforded by the apostles, to the fact that the prophecy refers to Christ, after we have thus proved that the Lord himself bears testimony to that effect. The latter is quite sufficient for the believer, and he who does *not* believe the Lord, will pay still less attention to his servants. With regard to Matthew, *Fritzsche* has already shown, that the close connexion, in which he places Christ's entry into Jerusalem with the prophecy, is quite as apparent from the τότε in ver. 1 ("when he drew near to Jerusalem, *then* remembering the *prophecy*, he sent," &c.), as from the fourth verse. The formula of quotation employed in this verse, "all this was done that it might be fulfilled," is the most emphatic of all. And to John the allusion to the prophecy appears of such importance, that he cites it as quite a remarkable fact, that the disciples understood this after Christ was glorified.

2. As an external proof, of a subordinate character, we may refer to Jewish tradition (see p. 413 sqq.). Of course this would be utterly inadequate *in itself* to establish the Messianic character of any passage. There are many passages, which are interpreted as Messianic in the early Jewish writings without the least foundation. And the argument founded upon tradition is still simply auxiliary evidence, which is not decisive in itself, even when, as in the present instance, the tradition can be shown to be both very ancient and unanimously adopted, and the passage itself is free from everything, that could serve as a connecting link, for the Messianic hopes indulged by the Jews, so as to give an impulse to the Messianic interpretation.

3. There are parallel passages, which may also be adduced in support of the Messianic interpretation. In ver. 10 the words "from sea to sea," &c., are taken from the Messianic 72d Psalm; and the rest of the verse contains an allusion to Micah v. 9, which is also Messianic.

4. But next to the authority of Christ and his apostles, the main argument, of a thoroughly decisive character, is founded upon the contents of the prophecy itself. The signs of a king, which are mentioned here, are such as do not apply to any one but the historical Christ. Every individual, that might be thought

of, in the later period of Jewish history, is excluded by the fact that he is described as the king of the covenant-nation κατ' ἐξοχήν, and still more by the enigmatical combination of apparently the most opposite signs, namely, the deepest humiliation and helplessness, on the one hand, and on the other a dominion, which is to spread over the whole earth, not by the force of arms, but by means of his simple word, which will bring all nations to peace and obedience, and effect so wondrous a change, that, whereas the kingdom of God has hitherto been opposed and enslaved by the heathen, it now obtains dominion over them, and that with their own consent.—*Theodoret* says: "but the most inconceivable of all is, that he, who had not where to lay his head, and who rode upon an ass, should acquire dominion over both earth and sea." The forced explanations, resorted to by those who maintain that the passage relates to an ideal Messiah, is a sufficient proof that their theory cannot be sustained.

CHAPS. IX. 11—X. 12.

A new section commences here, or rather a new scene opens before the prophet's spiritual eye; as the contents clearly show. According to ver. 10, the people were to be rendered completely defenceless, and placed in circumstances of utter helplessness, in view of the Messianic times. But here on a sudden everything is warlike. The covenant nation is seen fighting with its powerful oppressors, of whom the Greeks are mentioned by name. By the help of the Lord a victory is obtained, and this is followed by liberty, of which the people of the covenant were painfully in want in the time of Zechariah, and by other theocratical blessings. Ephraim, whose reunion with Judah had been but very imperfectly effected in the time of Zechariah, is brought back by the Lord from his dispersion.

This description is sufficient to show, that the prophecy more particularly refers to the Maccabean age. What the Lord would then perform, in order to complete the work which he had already commenced, when he led back the covenant people from their

captivity in Babylon, is held up by the prophet before the eyes of his contemporaries, who were mourning on account of the small beginnings of the new colony.

There is nothing to astonish us in this sudden transition from the Messianic age to the period which preceded it. In vers. 1—8 the prophet had already spoken of Alexander's expedition, and the safety enjoyed by the covenant nation. And it would have been quite in accordance with the actual succession of events, to pass at once to the Maccabean times. But in the midst of these events, the prophet's mental eye had fallen upon the far greater blessings, which the Messiah was to bring to the covenant nation. There is no necessity to account for this, as *Jahn* has done, from the contrast between the great Prince of Peace and the great worldly conqueror described in vers. 1—8. If any such contrast had been intended by the prophet, the conqueror himself would not have been kept so much in the background. The cause is rather to be looked for in the fact, that the minds of the prophets were so filled with the Messianic prospects, that they turned at once from every deliverance, however small, to this the last and greatest, to which all the others pointed, and did not stop to enquire whether there were any other manifestations of the grace of God, which the people of the covenant would previously receive. And on the other hand, whilst depicting the latter, they would turn again just as easily and imperceptibly to the Messianic era, the images of which continually forced themselves upon their minds with an irresistible charm, and occasionally even mingled themselves with more immediate blessings.

But, as we may see from a comparison of ver. 7 with ver. 10, the Messianic announcement in vers. 9 and 10 is intimately connected with the predictions in vers. 1—8 respecting the judgments on the heathen world. The latter are represented as preparing the way for the Messianic salvation.

The events, which are expressly announced in the section before us, are *presupposed* in ver. 10. Ephraim is here introduced as associated with Judah in the Lord's own land, and Israel possesses chariots and horses, and appears armed with the battle-bow, chap. x. 3, 4, 5. These were circumstances, which had no existence in the time of the prophet, and into the origin of

which, when once they had been mentioned in passing, it was necessary to enter with greater minuteness.

Ver. 11. "*As for thee also, for the sake of thy covenant-blood, I send forth thy prisoners out of the pit, wherein is no water.*"

These words must be addressed to the whole of the covenant-nation, not to a *portion* of it, as *Hitzig* supposes. For the "blood of the covenant" belonged only to the whole body, to the nation (Ex. xxiv. 8). Moreover, a more particular description of the portion referred to would have been required.—Most commentators suppose, that a contrast is intended to the blessing, promised to the heathen nations in the foregoing verse: "think not, O Zion, that the Lord will neglect thee on this account; on the contrary he will watch over thee with peculiar care." But even the promises in the two previous verses relate directly to the covenant-nation alone, and merely concern the heathen nations, because the predicted extension of the kingdom over them would be beneficial to the covenant-nation also. It is the king of Zion, whose dominion extends over the whole earth, and his people share in his glory. The explanation given by *Cocceius*, *Maurer*, and others, "not only has thy king come, but I have also loosened thy prisoners," is equally inadmissible; for the separate pronoun אַתְּ, on which peculiar emphasis must be placed, is here treated as entirely superfluous, and גַּם, which is attached to it by Makkeph, is, without any reason, connected with שִׁלַּחְתִּי. The true explanation is that גַּם־אַתְּ, "thou also," stands for "even," just as in ver. 12 גַּם־הַיּוֹם, "even to-day;" and the meaning of the clause is, "although thou art in a cave without water, in a state of utter helplessness, although thou appearest to be hopelessly lost." When the covenant was concluded at Sinai, Moses sprinkled the people with the blood of the sacrifices, and said: "behold, this is the blood of the covenant, which the Lord makes with you, concerning all these words" (Ex. xxiv. 8). The blood was both the symbol and means of reconciliation (compare Lev. xvii. 11, and Heb. ix. 18 sqq.), and by this symbolical act, the nation was solemnly declared to be purified, to have received forgiveness of sins, and therefore to stand under the special protection of God, —a declaration, which was constantly repeated in the divinely

appointed institution of sacrifice. The covenant-blood, which still separates the Church from the world, was a sure pledge, therefore, of the certain deliverance of the covenant-nation out of every trouble, provided, that is, it did not make the promises of God of none effect, by wickedly violating the conditions laid down by God himself.—There can be no doubt, that שִׁלַּחְתִּי is a prophetical preterite, and that the prophet referred to a deliverance, which was to be effected at some future period for the covenant nation.

The "pit without water" contains a retrospective allusion to the typical history of Joseph, who is also mentioned in Ps. cv. as a type of his nation (compare Gen. xxxvii. 14, to which there is indisputably a reference even in the expression employed)—and possibly also to that of Jeremiah, which is the more likely, since the prophecies of Zechariah are very closely connected in other respects with those of Jeremiah; (compare chap. xxxviii. 6). Now there are many commentators, who regard the pit as a figurative representation of *captivity*. But there is nothing in the figure itself to warrant such an opinion. On the contrary, we find it used in other passages in a wider sense, namely, to denote the deepest *distress* and extreme *misery;* for example, in Ps. xl. 3, and Lam. iii. 53. In Is. xlii. 22, again, the figure of a prison is employed, to represent the deepest misery (see vol. ii. p. 223). The following proofs may be given that the figure of a pit is used in the same general sense in the present instance. (1). As the *strong-hold* in ver. 12 represents prosperity and safety, the antithesis, the pit, must be a figurative expression for adversity and helplessness. We find precisely the same contrast in Ps. xl. 3.—(2). The manner in which, according to ver. 13, the covenant nation is to be rescued from adversity, namely by a brave struggle, which the Lord will bless, precludes the idea of captivity, associated with the want of every means of defence. The field of battle, according to what follows, is in the holy land (compare ver. 16 especially).—Lastly, we may add, that the assumption, that it is captivity in a foreign land which is here referred to, presupposes one of the two erroneous hypotheses, either that ver. 11 relates to something already gone by, or that the second part is not genuine.

Let us examine a little more closely, what distress it is, which is here presented to the mental eye of the prophet. The Greek and Latin fathers, as well as the later Christian commentators, are unanimous in the opinion, that it relates to that spiritual misery, from which Christ was to deliver. But the distress in this verse is the same as that, from which deliverance is promised in ver. 12; and from ver. 13, where this deliverance is more particularly described, it is evident that *it was to consist in a victorious conflict with the Greeks.* The close connexion, which exists between the three verses 11—13, shows that the distress could be no other, than the oppression endured from the successors of Alexander in the Syrian kingdom. This is so very clear, that it would certainly never have been overlooked, had not the commentators been led astray at the very outset by the notion, that it would be too violent a leap, for the prophet to pass suddenly from the Messianic times to an earlier period, from the highest possible deliverance to one of an inferior kind. The majority were so blinded by this notion, that they interpreted the whole section allegorically. Others, *e.g.*, *Theodoret* and *Marck*, felt that this was too forced, and explained the section, from ver. 13 onwards, as referring primarily to the times of the Maccabees. The former, however, including *Cyril*, *Cocceius*, and *Ch. B. Michaelis*, are more consistent than the others, for ver. 13 sqq. cannot possibly relate to something different from the two previous verses, with which they are connected in the closest manner by the particle גַּם.

Ver. 12. "*Return to the stronghold ye prisoners of hope; even to-day do I declare, I will give back double unto you.*"

The stronghold contrasted with the pit, is a figurative representation of safety and prosperity; just as the rock, the high place, &c., in many other passages. "Return" is equivalent to "ye will return," and at the same time expresses the idea, that the return of the covenant people was dependent upon nothing but their own will; just as in chap. x. 1, "*ask* of the Lord rain," is used for "ye only need to ask."—By the expression, "prisoners of hope," the prophet directs the attention of his people to the covenant and the promises, in which, even in the midst of their deepest misery, they still possess a guarantee of future deliverance.—That *Ewald's* explanation is the best ("even

to-day, *in spite of all the threatening circumstances")*, is evident from the corresponding גַּם in ver. 11.—"*I will give back the double*," namely, double the prosperity which you formerly possessed. The passages on which this is based are Is. xl. 2, "that she shall receive from the Lord *double* for all her sins," and Is. lxi. 7.

Ver. 13. "*For I bend me Judah, fill the bow with Ephraim, and raise up thy sons, O Zion, against thy sons, O Javan, and make thee like the sword of a hero.*"

The prophet in this verse points out more particularly the nature of the distress, and the manner in which the *deliverance*, already predicted in general terms in the preceding verse, was to be effected. By the help of the Lord, they will obtain glorious victories over their powerful oppressors, the Greeks. ("What will a bow effect, unless it is drawn? And unless the arrows are shaken out, the bow itself will be idle." *Calvin.)* We have here the description of a state of things, which intervened *between* the time, at which the prophet wrote, and the Messianic age. In the prophet's life-time, Ephraim for the most part had not yet returned to the land of the Lord, whilst Judah was subject to the Persians, and cherishing anything but warlike thoughts. According to ver. 10, the ability of both Ephraim and Jerusalem to make war and conquer was to be completely destroyed, and the people of the covenant were to be brought back to their defenceless condition again. Judah is represented here as the bow drawn by the Lord, and Ephraim as the arrow, which He shoots, to express the thought, that the Lord will conduct the affairs of his people by means of the people themselves, and will make use of them as his weapons in the holy war,—a different course from that which was adopted in the olden time, when the people were told, "the Lord will fight for you and ye will hold your peace" (Ex. xiv. 14).—According to the accents, קַשְׁתִּי (the bow) is connected with the following word. There is no reason to reject their authority. On the contrary it cannot be taken in connexion with the previous word, as many commentators suppose; for מִלֵּאתִי would then lose one of its two objects, and would require a suffix agreeing with קַשְׁתִּי.—The only legitimate rendering is, "*I fill the bow with Ephraim.*" As only one

arrow can be shot at a time from a bow, it is *full* when this is placed upon it. The words "*I raise up*," &c. have caused no little difficulty, to all who came with false hypotheses to the interpretation of this passage. The earlier commentators, who explained the whole section allegorically, supposed that the Greeks were mentioned here synecdochically for the heathen nations generally, who were to be overcome by the gospel. Now it is certainly correct, that the prophets frequently mention only one species, when a whole genus is intended; but, in such a case as this, there must be some reason for the selection of a representative. For example, no nation could represent all the enemies of the kingdom of God, which had not itself stood in a hostile relation to it, either before the prophet's days or during his lifetime, or which was not notoriously an object to be peculiarly dreaded in his days. The modern rationalistic commentators were thrown into still greater perplexity by this passage. Their principle, that the prophets never predicted anything which did not lie within the political horizon of their own times, was in danger of receiving a sensible shock. The difficulty was only increased by transferring the prophecy, as many did, to the time of Uzziah. Different plans of escape were resorted to, but all equally arbitrary.[1] There was no need, however, of any of these,

[1] *Flügge* maintained that Javan evidently meant the same as Damascus and Hamath in chap. ix. 1, and devoted a special *excursus* to the attempt to prove, that the genuine Hebrew writers never used the term Javan to denote Greece! *Forberg* thinks that there is nothing surprising in the fact, that a war with the Greeks should be announced in the time of Uzziah, if we only compare Amos i. 9, 10, and Joel iv. 4—7. But we cannot see what these passages are to prove, since they make no allusion to a war with the Greeks, which in fact was absolutely inconceivable under existing circumstances. Greece is simply mentioned as one of the most remote countries, into which certain Jewish captives had been carried away and sold as slaves, not through any criminality on the part of the inhabitants of those lands themselves, but through the fault of the Tyrians, who alone are threatened, in consequence, with punishment from God. In *Hitzig's* opinion, the war was to be carried on by the Zionites in Javan, who would rise against their oppressors, and not by the inhabitants of Jerusalem. But decisive evidence to the contrary is to be found in the fact that the sons of Judah and Jerusalem alone are mentioned in Joel iii. 6, whilst Judah and Ephraim are referred to here; that the general character of the account before us proves the war to be a strictly national one; and that, according to ver. 16 and chap. x. 1, the scene of conflict is the Lord's own land. Besides, how could any one think of attributing to the prophet the romantic idea, that a handful of Jewish slaves would rise successfully against their oppressors! *Ewald*, it is true, does not shrink

if the interpretation of the passage were only approached with an unprejudiced mind. The name Javan, to which the Homeric forms *Iaon* and *Iaones*, and the Syriac *Yaunoye* come very near, and which we need not, therefore, be in too much of a hurry to change into *Ion*, as *I. D. Michaelis* has done, was used by the Hebrews to represent Greece in the widest sense, as we may see from the fact that Alexander is called the king of Greece in Dan. viii. 21. The prophet, who is undoubtedly enabled by divine illumination to look beyond the horizon of his own time,[1] gives a slight sketch of the victories which the Jews will obtain under the guidance of the Maccabees, and, by the assistance of God, over the Grecian rulers of Syria, and which Daniel had even more fully predicted at a still earlier period. The nearer the time approached, when the book of prophecy would be closed, the greater necessity was there, that such of the holy seers, as still remained, should have regard, not merely to their contemporaries, but to succeeding generations also until the time of Christ, and that the Lord should deposit in their predictions a treasure by which their successors might be comforted and sustained in their afflictions; whilst the very fact, that these afflictions had been distinctly foretold, would furnish them at once with a proof, that their fate was determined by God and not by

back from this startling notion any more than *Hitzig*. According to his explanation, "the prophet incites them to make war upon those who unjustly detain the exiles for too long a period; for example, the Ionians (Joel iii. 6, 7)." "For example" is his own interpretation. Moreover, in Joel the Greeks are not represented as the enemies of the covenant nation, whilst there is not a single word about any war with them. The prophecy is directed against Tyre, Sidon, and Philistia, and all that is said is: "the children also of Judah and the children of Jerusalem ye have sold unto the children of the Greeks, that ye might remove them far from their border. Behold, I will raise them out of the place, whither ye have sold them, and will return your recompense upon your head." *Rosenmüller*, in order to prove his point, that the Greeks are mentioned here metonymically for the heathen enemies of the covenant people generally, maintains that the Macedonians had acquired such power in the time of the prophet, that all the inhabitants of Western Asia were filled with alarm! *Eichhorn* resorts to the most desperate means, and transfers the date of the prophecy to a later period than that of Alexander the Great, when the Greeks were really the most powerful nation in the whole of Western Asia.

[1] We must not overlook the fact, however, that there was a connecting link even in his own day. The designs of Darius upon Greece were made known very shortly after he ascended the throne (*Herodotus* iii. 129—137. *Plass, Geschichte der Helenen* iii. p. 23).

chance, and also with a guarantee that the promised deliverance would as surely come.[1]

Ver. 14. "*And the Lord will appear above them; and his arrow goeth forth as the lightning; and the Lord Jehovah will blow the trumpet, and he goeth along in the storms of the south.*"

Israel, surrounded as it was by much more powerful nations, could only base its hopes of salvation, as the little flock has always had to do in the presence of the world, upon its heavenly hero-king (compare Ps. xxiv. 8, "the Lord is strong and a hero, the Lord is a hero of war"). He appears *above* them because he fights from heaven on their behalf. The *arrows* of God are the plagues with which he visits his enemies (Deut. xxxii. 23; Ps. vii. 14, xxxviii. 3). The fact that the Lord blows a *trumpet* is an announcement of some grand catastrophe. The context shows the nature of the announcement, namely that it has

[1] The allusion in this passage is so very obvious, that, as we have already observed, many of those who support the spiritual interpretation of the whole section, and regard it as prophetic of the Messianic times, cannot help giving this as at least the lower and primary meaning. Thus, for example, *Theodoret* says, "but the prophecy contains, as it were, a typical reference to the Macedonians: for the children of Zion rose against the children of the Greeks, and having routed many thousands of the Macedonians, and erected a trophy, returned victorious, and rebuilt the altar which had been destroyed." *Schmieder* objects, that even in Daniel (chap. xi. 11) the Syrian kingdom, about which he prophecies, is not referred to as a Grecian kingdom, but simply as the kingdom towards the north. But he has overlooked chap. viii. 21 sqq., where the imperial power, which follows the Medo-Persian, and the characteristic of one phase of which is its oppression of Judah, is expressly declared to be the Grecian: "the goat is the king of Javan." It is impossible to disconnect this passage from the one before us. *They are the only two passages in the whole of the Old Testament, in which there is any reference to a conflict between Javan and Israel.* If we leave Daniel and Zechariah in their respective places, the harmony between them cannot but appear a perfectly natural one. But if the second portion of Zechariah is transferred to a period before the captivity, all that he predicts, in common with Daniel, concerning the war with the Greeks, becomes an incomprehensible enigma. The fact is hinted at by Micah (chap. iv. 11—13), but he leaves it to a later phase of prophecy to mention the names of the Greeks. The rationalists have found the difficulties arising out of this prophecy excessively troublesome, and it will hardly be regarded as a scientific proceeding on the part of *Bleek* (p. 266), when he attempts to get rid of the difficulty by such a phrase as this: "if we would not rob the prophecy of its ethical character (!) altogether, and regard it as the mere production of a fortune-telling soothsayer." The obscurity is all on the side of the rationalists!—The outward conflict, referred to here, was undoubtedly the prelude of a still grander conflict, between Israel and Javan, to be fought with spiritual weapons. But it is opposed to all the principles of sound interpretation, to refer the words immediately to the latter.

respect to the destruction of the enemies of Israel. Where a trumpet is mentioned, the point in consideration is invariably the noise, shouting and roaring. Where it is used in connexion with anything which God has to say to the Church in the world, it indicates something important, fundamental, and decisive. (On the winds and storms, as symbols of divine judgments, see the commentary on Rev. vii. 1 and Ps. l. 3). On both the *south* and east of Canaan there lies a desert, where there is nothing to break the force of the storm.

Ver. 15. "*The Lord of Sabaoth will defend them; and they devour and overpower sling-stones, and they drink and make a noise as through wine and are filled like the sacrificial bowl, like the corners of the altar.*"

They devour, not the possessions of the enemy, as many suppose, but their flesh, as the allusion, which follows, to the *drinking* of blood sufficiently proves (see chap. xii. 6). The idea of a lion, on which this description is founded, is introduced into Balaam's prophecy, Num. xxiii. 24: "behold the people shall rise up as a great lion, and lift up himself as a young lion" (see also chap. xxiv. 8). וְכָבְשׁוּ אַבְנֵי־קָלַע is rendered by many commentators, "they subdue *by* sling-stones," in accordance with the *Septuagint* version. But the tameness of this rendering, and its want of harmony with the elevated tone of the rest of the verse, is a sufficient reason for rejecting it. Others translate it, "they tread under foot sling-stones," and refer to Job xli. 28, where sling-stones are described as being like stubble to the leviathan. כבש, however, never means to tread down, but always to overpower, subdue. The proper rendering is this: "*they overpower sling-stones*," their enemies themselves being represented as sling-stones to show their weakness and contemptibility. For slinging, men only choose what is contemptible, such as pebbles out of the brook, 1 Sam. xvii. 40.[1] In the clause

[1] This rendering is favoured, *first*, by the parallelism. Just as in the second clause everything which follows שָׁרוּ relates to the blood, we must assume that in the present case the words which follow אָכְלוּ relate to the flesh. It is favoured, *secondly*, by the parallel passages. There is a perfectly analogous statement in chap. x. 5: "they are as heroes, treading down the mire of the streets," where the enemies are represented as mire, just as in this case they are described as sling-stones; whereas Micah, who is less bold

"they will become like *the* sacrificial bowl," the article shows that מִזְרָק does not refer to every description of sacred bowl, but simply to the one in which the priests caught the blood, when the veins of the sacrificial animal had been opened, and from which they sprinkled part of the blood upon the horns of the altar *(cf. Lund jüd. Alterthümer)*. The article points back to מְלֹאוּ; like the sacred bowl, viz. the one which is full of blood. *Like the corners of the altar.* Strictly speaking the blood was not sprinkled on the corners of the altar, but on the horns which stood upon them. But the prophet mentions the corners here, because he regards the horns as part of the corners. The figure is a truly priestly one; and such passages as this and chap. xiv. 20 point unmistakeably to Zechariah the priest as the author. We have here a description of a holy war and victory, in the ordinary sense of the terms; and there is not the least indication that a spiritual conflict is intended. Hence the author himself shows very clearly that the announcement in this section must relate to ante-Messianic times.

Ver. 16. "*And the Lord their God grants them salvation in that day, as to a flock of his people. For crown-jewels* (shall they be) *rising up upon his land.*"

The prophet is led, by the comparison already instituted between the enemies and sling-stones, to represent Israel under the image of precious stones. This explanation is favoured by the fact that not only does it give the only suitable antithesis to the sling-stones in ver. 15, but it is the only one in which נֵזֶר is taken in its proved signification. It also assigns its proper place to the כִּי in ver. 17; for the figure of the sparkling jewels includes all the glory of the Israelites, as more particularly described in ver. 17 sqq. הִתְנוֹסֵס is not a pure passive, but is used in the ordinary sense of *Hithpael*, in which it also occurs in Ps. lx. 6. It signifies there "exalted," in contrast with the miserable, prostrate condition of those who had drunk the wine

in his imagery, merely compares them to the mire of the streets (chap. vii. 10). *Thirdly*, it is confirmed by the evident antithesis in the next verse. The Israelites are there referred to under the image of the most precious stones, the crown jewels; and in like manner the most insignificant of all stones, sling-stones, are evidently employed in this passage to denote their enemies. If, then, the sling-stones are the enemies of Israel, we have found the object to אֲבַלֵּל.

of reeling. It is not physical elevation which is intended either there or in the passage before us, but rise and prosperity. The expression "rising up" *explains* the reference to the stones of the crown, and shows in what respect the children of Israel are described as spiritual crown-jewels. The suffix in אַדְמָתוֹ, like that in עַמּוֹ, refers to the Lord, and not to the people, who are spoken of just before in the plural. The fact that it is in the Lord's own land that the Israelites are to attain to this splendour, constitutes both the cause and guarantee of its continuance, and also heightens their dignity and prosperity.

Ver. 17. "*For how great is his goodness, how great his beauty! Corn maketh young men, and new wine maidens, to shoot forth.*"

The suffix in טוּבוֹ and יָפְיוֹ is supposed by many commentators to refer to the people. *Schmeider*, for example, interprets the clause thus, "for what goodness they possess, and what beauty!" But there is no ground whatever for assuming that there is any such irregularity as this; the suffix in אדמתו, which occurs immediately before, refers to the Lord. It is by no means out of place that the prophet should utter an exclamation of wonder, and praise the goodness which the Lord had shewn to his people, and the beauty in which He had manifested himself; in fact this explanation gives a much finer sense than the other. It is also confirmed by the parallel passage in Jer. xxxi. 12, "they come and shout on the heights of Zion, and flow together to the *goodness of Jehovah*, to the *wheat*, and the *new wine*, and the *oil*," which agrees so perfectly with the passage before us, that we might imagine it to have been actually employed by Zechariah. Compare also ver. 14, "my people shall be satisfied with my goodness;" and Ps. xxxi. 20, "how great is thy *goodness*, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee." For טוב יהוה, which always means the *goodness* of the Lord, compare the remarks on Ps. xxv. 7, and xxvii. 13. The *beauty* of the Lord in this passage tallies exactly with his loveliness in chap. xi. 7. Beauty is attributed to the Messiah in the Song of Solomon i. 16, Ps. xlv. 3, and Is. xxxiii. 17 (see vol. ii. p. 157). Corn and new wine are mentioned here as particular examples of the blessings of God; *vide* Deut. xxxiii. 28, "in a land of corn and new wine," and Ps. iv. 8. Wherever there is

a superabundance of both of these, the population rapidly increases. There is a similar statement in Ps. lxxii. 16, "there will be a superabundance of corn in the land . . . . and they of the city will flourish like the grass of the earth." Young men and maidens are mentioned, to heighten the picture of life and prosperity.

CHAP. X.

Ver. 1. "*Ask ye of the Lord rain in the time of the latter rain; the Lord creates lightnings and gives them showers of rain, to every one grass in his field.*"

The division of the chapters is unfortunate. This verse is closely connected with the preceding one. A mistaken notion of the meaning of the imperative "*ask*," has led the majority of commentators, to regard it as the commencement of a fresh train of thought, and not as a continuation of the foregoing prediction. But the direction to ask, simply expresses the readiness of God to grant their requests. It is equivalent to "ye need only ask; a request is all that is required." The word שְׁאֽוּ is used in precisely the same sense in chap. ix. 12. Compare 1 Kings iii. 5, "God said to Solomon, ask, what shall I give thee;" also 2 Kings ii. 9 and Ps. ii. 8. After this appeal, in which the promise is indirectly involved, the prophet immediately returns to a direct announcement of the promise itself, as in chap. ix. 12.—"*At the time of the latter rain*" is merely a particular form of expression for the general idea, "at the time when ye require rain;" we are not warranted, therefore, in drawing the conclusion that the latter rain was more necessary than the early rain, for bringing the crops to maturity. In other passages, *e.g.*, Joel ii. 23, the two are connected. The prophet had Deut. xi. 13—15 before his mind, "if ye shall hearken diligently to my commandments, ... I will give you the rain of your land *in his season*, the first rain and the latter rain, that thou mayest gather in thy corn, and thy wine, and thine oil; and I will give *grass*

upon thy field for thy cattle;"[1] and in part he has adopted the same words. The rain is singled out as one example of the whole mass of blessings. The lightnings are mentioned as its precursors. Compare Jer. x. 13, "who turneth lightnings into rain;" and Ps. cxxxv. 7.

Ver. 2. "*For the teraphim spoke falsely, and the soothsayers saw a lie, and the dreams speak deceit, they comfort vainly; therefore they broke up like a flock, they are troubled, because they have no shepherd.*"

כי (for) does not refer to ver. 1 merely, but to the whole tenor of the divine promises contained in the previous announcement, "I will have compassion upon my people, and will abundantly bless them; *for* they have fallen into deep distress, because they have forsaken me, and been led astray by false predictions." Hence כי indicates the reason why God would interpose, namely the misery and helplessness of the nation, which He would never forsake, "because of the covenant sealed with blood." That the prophet refers to things which had taken place in past times, when speaking of the cause of the existing misery, is evident from the fact that he first of all uses the preterite twice, and, after he has thus sufficiently indicated his meaning, proceeds to employ the present, "they speak, they comfort." The same conclusion follows still more decisively from the fact, that in his description of the *consequences* of their infatuated confidence, נסעו points most unmistakeably to the Babylonian captivity. The *causes* must, therefore, belong to a still earlier period. Lastly, a comparison of the parallel passages in Jeremiah and Ezekiel confirms our opinion that the prophet is speaking of past times. He points to the fact that their threats had been fulfilled. Compare, for example, Jer. xxvii. 9: "hearken not to your prophets, nor to your soothsayers, nor to your dreamers, nor to your astrologers, nor to your sorcerers, who say to you, Ye shall not serve the king of Babylon;" chap. xxix. 8, "let not your prophets and your soothsayers deceive you, neither hearken to the dreams, which ye dream;" and Ezek. xxi. 34, xxii. 28. Shortly

[1] A comparison of this passage, on which ours is founded, shows that *Hitzig* is wrong in supposing that עשב includes corn as well. At the same time the verbal allusion to the passage in Deuteronomy naturally leads us to supply the rest.

before the captivity, in the most calamitous period in the history of the nation, and during the captivity itself, there rose up a larger number of false prophets, both in Jerusalem and among the exiles, than had ever appeared before; and the readiness, with which the people listened to them, was one of the principal causes of their misery. By predicting nothing but prosperity and deliverance, they counteracted the impressions previously made by the reproofs and threatening announcements of the true prophets, whom they attempted to hold up as gloomy fanatics; and by this means they kept the people from repentance, without which there could be no deliverance. Jeremiah (in chap. xxiii.) charges the priests and *false prophets* with filling the whole land with crimes and curses through their sin. "They strengthen (he says in ver. 14) the hands of evil doers, that none doth return from his wickedness." "From the prophets of Jerusalem (he says again in ver. 15) is profaneness gone forth into all the land."—The teraphim, as we may gather from the other passages on which this is founded, are regarded as false comforters, who open up bright prospects in a future which is really dark.[1]—חַלֹּמוֹת is not to be connected with הַשָּׁוְא, as a noun in the construct state, partly on account of the accents, and partly also because of the parallelism, which requires that הַשָּׁוְא should be combined with אָוֶן and שֶׁקֶר. It is also wrong to render חַלֹּמוֹת "*dreamers.*" It is evident from Jer. xxvii. 9, that the ordinary meaning, dreams, is to be retained in this

[1] That the teraphim were intermediate deities, who assisted to penetrate the future, has already been remarked in the notes on Hosea iii. 4. According to *Hävernick* (on Ezek. xxi. 26) they were exclusively household gods. But this is disproved by the fact, that protection and blessings in general are never attributed to the teraphim, but only deliverance in circumstances of perplexity and distress, and that, in every case in which we are specially informed what their worshippers expected them to do, revelations of the unknown are the only things referred to (compare Ezek. xxi. 26). Laban, who is the first person that we meet with in possession of teraphim, is earnestly employed in discovering secrets by supernatural means (Gen. xxx. 27). By divination he discovers that Jehovah blesses him for Jacob's sake. The spot where Jacob buried the teraphim and the amulets, is called in Judg. ix. 37 "the oak of the diviners." That teraphim were employed to obtain an insight into the future, is also evident from the fact, that ephods and teraphim are classed together in Hos. iii. 4, Judg. xvii. 5. (Compare the Beitrage 3. p. 94). In the present instance the teraphim are simply introduced as false comforters, as the earlier passages clearly show.

passage also. The dreams are personified and represented as speaking.—עַל־כֵּן, therefore, namely because they had given themselves up to these lying prophets, who had so confirmed them in their false security, as to keep them from *repentance*, the indispensable condition of all blessings.—The "breaking up" of the sheep is the opposite to "lying down in green pastures, by the side of still waters," spoken of in Ps. xxiii. 2. There is an allusion here to the people being carried away captive into Babylon (compare Micah ii. 10). The difference between the preterite נסעו and the future יענו should not be overlooked. The first refers to the consequences of their foolish trust in lies, which had already been experienced in times gone by; the latter to such as were still felt in the days of the prophet himself, and would continue to be experienced until the time of the happy predicted consummation.—The term *shepherds* is usually applied to the rulers by the two prophets, Jeremiah and Ezekiel, with whom Zechariah is generally most closely connected (compare Jer. iii. 15, xxiii. 1; vol. ii., p. 403). That this is the sense, in which the expression is employed here, is evident from ver. 3. Judah had *no* shepherd, because it had no native king from the time that the family of David ceased to rule. The foreign princes, who called themselves shepherds, were in reality devouring wolves. It is very obvious, that the contents of this verse can only be understood from the circumstances of Zechariah's own times. The captivity was at an end, but the people of God still groaned under oppression, which had its origin in the fact, that the native government had been overthrown.

Ver. 3. "*My anger burns against the shepherds, and I will visit the goats; for the Lord of Sabaoth visits his flock, the house of Judah, and makes them like his state-horse in the battle.*"

The miserable condition of the nation and its want of a shepherd were represented in the previous verse as the consequence of its own sins; but notwithstanding this, the Lord promises here that he will deliver it from its evil rulers, the instruments employed in its punishment, who were equally deserving of punishment themselves. That the shepherds and goats are the heathen rulers, who obtained dominion over Judah when the native government was suppressed (ver. 2), is evident from the

contrast so emphatically pointed out in ver. 4, where particular prominence is given to the fact, that the new rulers, whom God was about to appoint, would be taken *from the midst of the nation itself.* (On the shepherds and goats compare Is. xiv. 9). כִּי introduces the reason, why punishment would be inflicted on the wicked rulers; namely, the tender care of the Lord for his people, and his determination to deliver them from their misery. They are *his* flock; therefore he can no longer endure that they should be oppressed by wicked shepherds. The house of Judah is mentioned as the central point of the kingdom of God. We perceive, from what follows, that the promise also applies to the other tribes, who were to gather around Judah. In the war, which the Lord would wage against the oppressors of his people, Judah was to be his state-horse, his richly caparisoned battle-horse; just as in the previous chapter Judah is called his bow, and Ephraim his arrow. A state-horse is one specially selected, such as an earthly king is accustomed to ride in battle, stately by nature and ornamented with splendid clothes and other costly trappings.

Ver. 4. "*Out of him the corner-stone, out of him the peg, out of him the war-bow, out of him will every ruler come forth together.*"

The suffix in מִמֶּנּוּ must be understood as referring to Judah, not to God. This is sufficiently evident from the passage in Jeremiah on which this is based, "and its strong man *(collective)* shall be from itself, and its ruler shall proceed from the midst of it" (Jer. xxx. 21). The meaning is this: having attained to perfect freedom by the help of the Lord, who gives success to their arms, they will now receive rulers and officers from among themselves, and a military force of their own; and whereas they were formerly a prey to strange conquerors, they will now terrify even foreign nations. The opposite of what Zechariah here prophesies of Judah is predicted of Babylon by Jeremiah (li. 26): "they shall not take of thee a stone for a corner, nor a stone for a foundation," on which *Michaelis* correctly observes: "the sense of the passage is that there would no longer be any member of the Chaldean race who would be a support, *i.e.*, a king or ruler, of the republic." The *corner stone* is used in Ps. cxviii. 22 as an emblem of regal dignity. The figure of a *peg*

has been very well expounded by *Lowth* (on Isaiah xxii. 23). It is a common custom in the East to fit up the inside of the apartments with rows of large nails or pegs, which are built into the walls (see *Chardin*, in *Harmar's Beobachtungen* 3. p. 49). On these firm nails, which are beautifully made, it is the custom to hang up all kinds of household furniture. They serve, therefore, as a very appropriate image of the men, who are the props and defenders of the entire republic. The *war-bow* is mentioned here, as one particular example, to denote military forces or military stores in general.

According to the general idea, the word נוֹגֵשׂ is applied here to the *ruler* in a good sense. But the passages adduced in proof of this are not conclusive. In Is. iii. 5, 12, it is evidently used of tyrannical rulers; and in Is. lx. 17 ("I make thine officers peace and thy *rulers* righteousness") there is an allusion to former tyrannical oppressors, as the clause immediately preceding ("for brass I will bring gold, and for iron silver") clearly shows. But there is not the least ground for departing from the usual meaning in the passage before us; provided we regard the harshness and severity, implied in the word, as directed not against the covenant-nation itself, but against its foes. There is a similar passage in Is. xiv. 2, "they shall take them captives, whose captives they were, and they shall rule over their oppressors." This explanation is favoured by the natural way in which it leads to the verse which follows.

Ver. 5. "*And they became like heroes, treading down the mire of the streets in the battle; and they fight, for the Lord is with them, and the riders of the horses are put to shame.*"

By many the first clause is rendered, "like heroes treading down (their enemies) in the mire of the streets." The latter is supposed to be selected as a specific example of the hindrances and difficulties which the covenant-nation would overcome by great perseverance. But in addition to the tameness of this explanation, the parallel passage (Micah vii. 10) furnishes a sufficient proof that it is incorrect. The mire of the streets is used there as a figure, representing *the enemies themselves;* the only difference being, that in Micah they are *compared* to the mire ("my eyes behold mine enemy, she shall be for a treading down like the mire of the streets"), whereas Zechariah, whose

imagery is of a bolder kind, speaks of them directly *as* the mire. This rendering is confirmed by chap. ix. 15, "they tread down sling-stones."—בּוּס is used intransitively in this verse; literally "they tread down, or tread about, upon the mire of the streets." The intransitive meaning is indicated even by the form of the word. The participial form קוֹם is not an unusual contraction of the transitive participle, but a participial form of the intransitive Kal. This is apparent from the fact that it is only used in connection with intransitive verbs, *e.g.* בּוֹשׁ, אוֹר, קוֹם. In נִלְחֲמוּ, they make war, there is an antithesis intended to the passive state, which has hitherto characterised the covenant-people, their unresisting oppression. From despised slaves they are now changed, by the help of the Lord, into brave warriors. On the other hand those who have hitherto oppressed them, the proud horsemen of the enemies, are covered with shame and confusion. The character of the concluding antithesis shows that הֹבִישׁוּ should be rendered as an intransitive, as it has been in all the early translations, and as it must be at chap. ix. 5 and ver. 11 of the present chapter. The cavalry is also specially mentioned in Dan. xi. 40 as the main strength of the Grecian rulers of Syria, especially of Antiochus Epiphanes. There is no ground whatever for interpreting this verse as referring "to the spiritual conflicts and victories of the just and gentle king, and his holy nation," as *Schmieder* has done, although all the outward conflicts of the people of God were types of the *spiritual* conflicts, which are more in conformity with its true nature. The whole context points to an outward conflict; and from the evident connexion between this passage and Daniel, it cannot be set aside.

Ver. 6. "*And I strengthen the house of Judah, and bestow salvation upon the house of Joseph, and I make them dwell, for I have compassion upon them, and they shall be, as if I had not cast them off, for I am the Lord their God and will hearken to them.*"[1]

[1] The connexion, in which this promise stands to the circumstances of Zechariah's times, has been excellently explained by *Calvin* as follows: "Zechariah carries out the same doctrine, namely, that this work of redemption, of which the Jews beheld the commencement, would not be a partial one, since the Lord would eventually fulfil, what He had already begun

The term *dwell* is used emphatically here. Hitherto the members of the covenant nation, though in their own land, had been like strangers and had lived under foreign dominion. But now their oppressors will be conquered and expelled, and they will become its real inhabitants and possessors, as in the days before the captivity. We have here a *compendium* of Ezek. xxxvi. 11, "I make you dwell, as in your olden time, and do you good, as in your past days."

Ver. 7. "*And Ephraim becomes like a hero, and their heart rejoices as with wine, and their sons see it and rejoice, their heart rejoices in the Lord.*"

The prophet had occupied himself first of all with Judah, the centre of the people of God. In ver. 6 he proceeds to speak of Judah and Ephraim together. In this verse and those which follow he fixes his attention peculiarly upon Ephraim, which looked in the prophet's day like a withered branch, that had been severed from the vine. He first promises, that descendants of the citizens of the former kingdom of the ten tribes will also take part in the glorious conflict, and then announces

to accomplish. It was impossible that the Jews should rest contented with the mere beginnings, which hardly constituted a hundredth part of the promises of God. The prophet, therefore, urges the Jews to wait patiently until the fulness of time has arrived, when the Lord will show, that he is not partially only, but altogether the redeemer of his people." הוֹשְׁבוֹתִים is thought by *Kimchi* and *Abenezra* to be a mixed form compounded of הֲשִׁיבֹתִים (the Hiphil of שׁוּב) and הוֹשַׁבְתִּים (from יָשַׁב); and the majority of expositors have adopted their opinion. By means of this artificial combination the prophet is supposed to express in one word, what Jeremiah takes a whole sentence to say, viz., "and I will *bring* them *back* to this place and *make* them *dwell* safely." The idea is, no doubt, favoured by the evident efforts which Zechariah makes to express his meaning briefly, as compared with the parallel passages in the earlier prophets. And, although there is no other example of a composite word of this description, there would be nothing very remarkable in its occurrence here, especially when we consider the age in which Zechariah lived. There is another fact, however, which proves that they are nearer the truth, who assume that Zechariah employed this anomalous form in the place of the regular הוֹשַׁבְתִּים by an interchange of the verbs עָן and פָּי, which was well understood in this later age, and *in it alone*. It would be quite out of place to speak of *returning* here; the description of this could not properly begin before verse 8. The prophet is speaking here of Judah and Israel *together*. But Judah had already returned. It is only to Israel, the greater portion of which was still in exile, that a return is afterwards promised.

the return of the ten tribes from their exile, which was to be the condition of their participating in the battle. The full and earnest manner in which the prophet treats of *Ephraim*, can only be explained, as *Calvin* himself perceived, from the peculiar circumstances of the times in which he lived. If the predictions of earlier prophets, with reference to Judah, were now but beginning to be fulfilled, and therefore needed to be renewed, lest the nation should think itself deceived, much more was this the case with regard to Ephraim. The great body of its members were still in exile, though a very small fraction of them had joined the children of Judah on their return (see *Jahn* Archäologie ii. 1 p. 236 sqq.), and there was therefore but little in existing circumstances to support the hopes of that grand restoration, which, according to the declaration by the prophets, was one day to occur. The fact, that the *children* of the Ephraimites were to share in their prosperity, was a proof that it could not be transient in its character.

Ver. 8. "*I will hiss for them and gather them, for I have redeemed them, and they increase as they did increase.*"

But how can Ephraim take part in the battle, which is to be fought in the holy land (chap. ix. 16), the centre of which is Zion (ix. 13)? Ephraim, for the most part, is still in exile. The Lord anticipates this difficulty, and says that Ephraim is to return from the land of its exile. This actually occurred to a great extent before the commencement of the Maccabean wars; and there were others, who were induced to return by the great improvement which took place in the condition of the nation at that time.

When the kingdom of the ten tribes was destroyed, the great obstacle to the reunion of Israel and Judah was taken out of the way. The division had originally taken place for the most part on political grounds, and by these it had been principally sustained. The religious element had been merely *subservient*. We may perceive how strong was the impulse of the Israelites to coalesce in religious matters, from the fact that all the Israelitish kings, to whatever dynasty they belonged, despaired of overcoming the impulse by purely political means, and therefore endeavoured to counteract it by the maintenance of an Israelitish national religion. But, notwithstanding this, they were unable

to prevent the whole of the truly religious part of the nation, which gathered round the prophets, from constantly lamenting the separation, or to guard against frequent emigrations to Judah, especially at the time, when the Lord glorified himself in the kingdom of David.—But when the kingdom of the ten tribes was broken up, the artificial wall of partition fell to the ground. And the one reason, which continued for a long time to prevent any outward amalgamation, namely, the great distance between them, ceased to exist when Judah also was carried into exile. The hearts of the children of Judah were softened by affliction, and they drew near with feelings of love to their brethren, whom they found in the midst of the same affliction. Hence Judah became in its captivity the centre, around which the whole Church of God gathered together once more. As the members of the ten tribes had become more thoroughly settled in the land of their exile, it was but natural that only a comparatively small number should return at first. The effect of this was, that Judah became still more decidedly the central point of the whole nation, which was henceforth called by its name. The erection of the new temple necessarily tended to strengthen the union. The eyes of the Israelites, who were still in exile, were certainly directed towards it, quite as much as those of the children of Judah. They saw clearly enough, that the temple, with all its appurtenances, was the only thing which could sustain the Israelitish feeling of nationality. Great crowds flocked to Judea when the new colony had established itself there, especially in the period between Nehemiah and the Maccabees, about which so little is known. Even those who stayed behind connected themselves closely with the temple, sent their presents, and made pilgrimages thither.—Hence, according to the view here given, no one need trouble himself to make further enquiries about the dwelling-place of the ten tribes. Josephus and the 4th Book of Ezra are very poor authorities, on which to found the opinion that they exist somewhere as a distinct people. Such an opinion is inconsistent with prophecy, and particularly with the predictions before us. It is also irreconcileable with the large number of Jews, who lived partly in Judea, and partly in the *Diaspora*. It is also at variance with 2 Chr. xxxiv. 9, from which it is evident that, after the overthrow of the Israel-

itish state, the remnant of the Israelites, which was still left in the land, entered into religious fellowship with Judah. And what is true of those, who were left behind, will equally apply to the exiles. Jeremiah xli. 5—18 also shows the fallacy of the idea. That the inhabitants of Canaan in the time of Christ did not all belong to the tribe of Judah, but on the contrary embraced all the twelve tribes, is evident from the fact that the people are called "our twelve tribes" in Acts xxvi. 7, and also from Luke ii. 36. The utter fruitlessness of every attempt, which has been made to discover the ten tribes, is sufficient of itself, in the present state of geographical science, to prove that it is quite a mistake, to suppose that the ten tribes have any separate existence, and that they must, in fact, be included in the great body of the Jews, to the whole of which the tribe of Judah, as being spiritually the strongest part, has given both its character and name.—The *hissing* refers to Is. vii. 18, where the Lord is described as hissing for the bee, which is in the land of Assyria. There is a parallel passage, so far as the meaning is concerned, in Hos. xi. 11, "they shall tremble as a bird out of Egypt, as a dove out of the land of Assyria, and I cause them to dwell in their houses, saith the Lord."—*I have redeemed them;* this is to be understood as referring to the decision of God. When once this had been formed, nothing could hinder it from being carried into execution. רבו points back to Ezek. xxxvi. 11.

Ver. 9. "*And I sow them among the nations, and in the distant lands they will remember me, and they live with their children and return.*"

The future אזרעם refers to the existing state of things, to that which had already occurred, and would occur still further. זרע never means to scatter, but always to sow, and where sowing is spoken of in connexion with men, it invariably denotes increase (compare the note on Hos. i. 4, ii. 24, 25). See also Jer. xxxi. 27, "behold the days come, that I will sow the house of Israel, and the house of Judah, with the seed of men and with the seed of cattle." The expression "ye are sown" in Ezek. xxxvi. 9 is thus explained in ver. x.: "I multiply men among you." Thus the same thing, which had formerly taken place in Egypt, is repeated in the captivity of Ephraim: "the more they afflicted

them the more they multiplied and grew" (Ex. i. 12). The passage, rightly interpreted, presupposes that Ephraim was already among the nations. The assumption, that there was no outward obstacle to their return, also points to the time of Zechariah.—In the words "*and they live*" we have an allusion, in a single word, to the figure, which Ezekiel has so beautifully carried out in chap. xxxvii. (compare for example ver. 14). The words "*with their children*," which have so frequently been misinterpreted, are used here, as well as in ver. 7, to show that the blessing would not be a transient one. This is obvious from the parallel passage in Ezek. xxxvii. 25, "and they shall dwell in the land, that I have given to Jacob my servant, they, and their children, and their children's children for ever."

Ver. 10. "*And I bring them back out of the land of Egypt, and out of Assyria will I gather them, and to the land of Gilead and Lebanon will I bring them, and they shall find no room.*"

Some difficulty has been caused to the expositors by the reference made to Egypt in this passage, as one of the countries, out of which the exiles were to be brought back; whereas there is nothing in history to lead us to the conclusion, that the members of the kingdom of the ten tribes were ever taken to Egypt. By the majority it is supposed that, when the kingdom was destroyed by the Assyrians, many of the citizens saved themselves from being forcibly carried away by flying to Egypt. But a comparison of ver. 11 evidently shows, that the Egyptians are to be regarded as tyrannical oppressors of the Israelites, quite as much as the Assyrians. We have no other alternative, therefore, than to assume, that Egypt is mentioned here, as being the first country, in which the Israelites endured a cruel bondage (compare Is. lii. 4, "my people went down to Egypt, first that they might sojourn there, and Assyria oppressed them without cause"), and consequently that it is used as a figurative representation of the countries, in which the members of the ten tribes were living in exile at the time of the prophet, and would still continue to live.

We have an introduction to this mode of representation in such passages as Is. x. 24, "O my people, that dwellest in Zion, be not afraid of the Assyrian, he shall smite thee with a rod, and shall lift up his staff against thee *after the manner of* Egypt."

With the custom, which so generally prevailed among the prophets, as well as the poets, of putting the object of comparison in the place of the thing compared, the transition was very easy, from such a passage as this, to the figure adopted by the prophet. We cannot exactly bring forward analogous examples ;[1] but we can cite passages, in which *Egypt* is spoken of in precisely the same sense as here. The most striking are Hosea viii. 13 and ix. 3. It is obvious enough, that the countries, into which the Israelites were to be carried away captive, are only figuratively described as Egypt, a land, in which the Israelites endured their first bondage, and whither the prophets, who invariably looked upon the Assyrians as the people from whom danger was to be anticipated, could never for a moment have thought of representing them as being led captive again (see vol. i., p. 218). Still it is very remarkable that in chap. ix. 6, where the prophet carries out the figure still farther, he should speak of Memphis, as the city in which the Israelites were to find their grave.—If it may be regarded as an established fact, that Zechariah does not mean Egypt itself in this passage, Assyria also, which is associated with it both here and in ver. 11, must mean something more than the empire which was called by that name. This must also be a figurative term, employed to denote the kingdoms, in which the Israelites were living in exile at the time of the prophet, and where they were still to remain. The proof of this, however, does not entirely invalidate the argument, which has been founded upon the passage before us, against the integrity of Zechariah. The question still remains, how could a prophet, living after the captivity, select the Egyptians and Assyrians as the types of the oppressors of his nation, and pass over the Chaldeans, who had become its most destructive foes? This difficulty would be an inseparable one, if the tribe of Judah alone were intended, or even the covenant nation as a whole. For example, when we find in Is. xxvii. 13 a passage to this effect, "they shall come, which were ready to perish in the land of Assyria, and the outcasts in the land of Egypt, and shall worship the Lord in the holy mountain at Jerusalem ;" although Egypt and Assyria are both of them used as types in this passage, as *Gese-*

[1] Compare the remarks on chap. v. 10, and Hosea i. 4, vol. i. p. 196 sqq.

nius has correctly observed ("Egypt and Assyria are mentioned here in the place of the different countries of the world, into which the Jews are scattered"), yet *Kleinert* is quite right in bringing it forward as a proof, that the whole section (chap. xxiv.—xxvii.) is genuine, and was composed before the captivity (see his *Aechtheit des Jesaias* i. p. 317 sqq.). And so again, when we find Egypt and Assyria mentioned in chap. xix. 23 sqq. as the two nations, which were most bitterly opposed to the covenant people and to each other, and which would nevertheless be most intimately allied to the covenant nation and to each other in the days of the Messiah by their common worship of the Lord, and would live in friendly intercourse one with another, the authenticity of the passage is sufficiently established. But, in the case before us, the difficulty is only an apparent one. *The prophet is speaking of the Ephraimites alone.* Now for them Egypt and Assyria had really been not only the most dangerous, but the only foes; and therefore they alone, and not the Chaldeans, who found their kingdom already destroyed, were fitted to be the types of their enemies generally. In this respect Zechariah stood upon precisely the same standpoint as Hosea, who prophesied in chap. xi. 11, with reference to the Israelites, that they would return from Egypt and Assyria. Moreover, the prophet had evidently in his mind the passages which we have already quoted, and in which Egypt and Assyria are classed together in exactly the same relation.

The "land of Gilead and Lebanon" does not denote the whole of the promised land, as most commentators suppose, but that portion of it which formerly belonged to the ten tribes. This was divided into two parts, the country beyond the Jordan (the land of Gilead), and the country on this side of the Jordan, which extended to the Lebanon, and is therefore appropriately called by its name.—*They shall find no room:* in consequence of the *increase* which is to take place in the lands of their exile, according to the announcement in ver. 9.

Ver. 11. "*And the Lord passes through the sea, the affliction, and smites the waves in the sea, and all the floods of the Nile are put to shame, and the pride of Assyria is brought down, and the sceptre of Egypt will depart.*"

The deliverance already effected for the covenant nation in

past times was a pledge of the future also. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than that the prophets should recal the past in their descriptions of the future. This is frequently done, past and future being placed side by side by way of comparison (see, for example, Is. li. 9). But they just as frequently employed the past as a simple type of the future, and transferred to the latter all the details connected with the former. Thus Jeremiah (chap. xxxi. 2) says, "thus saith the Lord, the people which are left of the sword find grace *in the wilderness;* the Lord goeth, to bring Israel to rest;" in other words, just as the Lord formerly had compassion on his people in the wilderness, and led the remnant to Canaan, so will he have compassion on them in their present affliction, and lead them back to their own land. (See also Hosea ii. 16, 17). But there is something peculiarly remarkable in Is. xi. 15, 16, which Zechariah has evidently imitated. The nominative to עָבַר is the Lord, who still continues to go through the sea at the head of the Israelites, and smites down his proud enemies, the roaring waves of the sea. "He goes through the field of floods, a conquering hero." We find a complete parallel in Ps. cxiv., where the sea flees and Jordan turns back in fear, when they see the Lord marching at the head of the Israelites. There was no necessity expressly to name the Lord, who was always present to the minds of the prophets, since He alone could perform such deeds, and He was the sole deliverer of his people. There is a perfect analogy in Is. ii. 4 and Micah iv. 3. Commentators differ as to the meaning of צָרָה. The view taken by *C. B. Michaelis* is undoubtedly the correct one, namely that צָרָה is to be taken as a noun in apposition, "he goes through the sea, the affliction." Hence it was not merely a rude adherence to the letter, at variance alike with analogy and the nature of prophecy, which led the Jewish interpreters to explain this passage as announcing a miraculous passage of the Israelites through the straits between Byzantium and Chalcedon (as *Jerome* informs us that they did); it was a misinterpretation of the passage itself. Moreover the explanation given by *Jonathan* ("signs and wonders shall be done for them, *as* they were formerly done for their fathers in the sea") shows that the error was not shared by all the Jews. The article in

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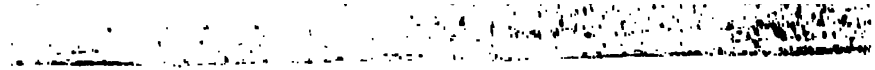

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